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THE CHAUCER OF SPENSER AND MILTON

The purpose of the present note is twofold: first, to urge a Chaucerian source for Spenser's "Blandamour"; and, second, to identify the edition of Chaucer known to and used by Milton and to explain Chaucerian forms in certain passages in Milton's prose and verse.

I. "BLANDAMOUR" AND "PLEYNDAMOUR"

In his *Observations on the Fairy Queen* Thomas Warton comments upon the name "Blandamour" as follows:

B. iv. c.i. s.xxxii

His name was Blandamour.—There was an old romance which celebrated the achievements of Blandamour; which Spenser might have seen. If not, he probably drew the name from this hint of Chaucer,

Men speken of romances of pris
Of Horne-child, and of Ipotis,
Of Bevis, and Sir Gie,
Of Sir Libeaux, and Blandamoure.¹

Now quite regardless of such allegorical or other interpretation as Spenser may have intended to place upon the character who bears this name; whether by some sort of etymologizing Spenser may have intended a connection with the adjective "bland," it would seem that Warton was correct in thinking that Spenser drew the name "Blandamour" from the character mentioned in *Canterbury Tales*, B2090 and known today as "Pleyndamour."

¹ Warton, *op. cit.* (London, 1754), pp. 135-36. *Idem* in 1762 and 1820 edd.
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Although the Six-Text edition offers variants here,¹ none are especially close to the Spenserian "Blandamour." Turning, however, to the printed editions one finds, from that of the elder Thynne in 1532 to Stow's in 1561, only "Blaindamoure," "Blayndamoure."² This form is obviously close to Spenser's "Blandamour," and since there is no reason to suppose that Spenser knew anything but the editions current in his day,³ "Blaindamoure" of these editions may well be regarded as his source.

"Blandamour" in Warton's quotations from *C.T.*, B2087-90 (*cit. supra*) is interesting in its exact agreement with the form occurring in Spenser, and is explained by the fact that Warton took his quotation either from Speght's second edition (1602) or the reissue of the same in 1687; in these, and only in these, is the spelling "Blandamoure."⁴

Warton, then, seems to be right and, like Spenser, appears to have known only the spelling of "Pleyndamour" with "B." Why Spenser altered "Blaindamoure" (the form in editions current in his day) to "Blandamour" (the form only in editions of the *Canterbury Tales* issued after the appearance of Books IV and V of the *Fairy Queen*) can perhaps not be definitely determined. He may have adapted "Blaindamoure" to the Latin *blandus*; he may have misread the *ain* of Stow and of certain earlier editors as *an*; he may conceivably have known a MS in which the reading "Blandamour" actually occurred.⁵ But this is mere speculation, in the course of which one naturally asks why the Chaucer editions of 1602 and 1687 print "Blandamour." Was the editor influenced by Spenser?⁶ Do both

¹ To wit: "Pleyndamour," "Playndamour," "Plendamour."

² In referring to the "printed editions" I mean the editions cited here and below, accessible to me in the Harvard College Library: Thynne (1532), in Skeat's facs. ed., p. 189, "Blayndamoure"; Thynne (no date—see E. P. Hammond, *Manual*, p. 119) printed by Toye, fol. lxxii, "Blayndamoure"; *ibid.*, printed by Petit, fol. lxxii, "Blayndamoure"; Stow (1561)—two variant issues, with and without cuts, respectively), fol. lxxv, "Blaindamoure." Pynson (1526), sig P iii, reads Playndamour. The error, introduced by Thynne, was not corrected until Tyrwhitt's ed. over two centuries later. The edition of 1561 is the latest to come in question since Books IV and V of the *Fairy Queen* (those in which "Blandamour" is mentioned) were published in 1596. The University of Chicago photo-stacks show that Caxton 1 and 2 have "playndemour."

³ I. e., printed edd. *vs.* MSS.

⁴ 1602, printed by Islip and by Bishop, fol. 67^a; 1687, fol. 125^a. In 1721 Urry (p. 146) reverts to "Blaindamoure." In 1775 Tyrwhitt corrects to "Plaindamour," the form of the Six-Text ed. and of Skeat, Koch, etc. The edition of 1598 (Speght) has "Blaindamoure," fol. 70^v.

⁵ But no such MS is known to me.

⁶ On this cf. Skeat's suggestion (*infra*) on possible Miltonian influence on Tyrwhitt.

Speght and Spenser derive from a common (unknown) original with "an" instead of "ain"? Or is this agreement a mere coincidence? I cannot pretend to answer these questions.

II. MILTON'S CHAUCER

1. *The Commonplace Book*

So far as I am aware, no copy of Chaucer's works owned by Milton is known to exist; yet it is possible to identify the edition of Chaucer in which Milton read, from which he quotes, and to which he refers in the course of his writings. On page 191, line 7, of Milton's *Commonplace Book*¹ one reads under the heading "Nobilitas": "See Chaucer wife of Baths tale fol. 36 and Romant of y Rose fol. 118."

There are numerous editions of Chaucer which Milton might have owned and to which he might have referred,² but only in Speght's second edition (1602) do the references given above lead us to pertinent passages. In this edition folio 36^r and 36^v includes *C.T.*, D1054-1279, and especially D1109-24 (fol. 36^r), the famous passage on "gentillesse" beginning: "But for ye speake of such gentlenesse." Similarly, folio 118^r and 118^v includes the *Romaunt*, verses 2012-2239, and especially the pertinent verses (2187-98, fol. 118^v):

But understand in thine entent,
That this is not mine entendement,
To clepe no wight in no ages
Only gentle for his linages

If one consults other printed editions, these folio numbers lead one in no case to the passages on "gentillesse." Milton is certainly referring to the edition of 1602 here as well as in the two following references: "Paupertas. . . . See Chaucer. no poverty but sin. wife of Baths tale. p. 36."³ Here Milton has in mind the passage on poverty, probably the verses beginning "And there as ye of povertie me repreve,"⁴ which, in the 1602 edition, appear on folio 36^v. "De liberis educandis. . . . Chaucer speaking of feasts, and revells and daunces such things makin children for to be too soon ripe and bold as men may see, which

¹ *A Commonplace Book of John Milton*. Reproduced by the autotype process . . . under the direction of the Royal Society of Literature, 1876.

² E.g., those listed on p. 130, n. 2, above.

³ *Commonplace Book* (*ed. cit.*), p. 150.

⁴ *C. T.*, D1176 ff.

is full perillous &c. doctor of Phis. tale. fol. 58.¹ On folio 58^v of the 1602 edition one reads:

Such things maken children for to bee
Too soone ripe and bold, as men may see:
Which is full perillous. . . .²

From the following observations it is further evident that the readings of the 1602 edition explain several details of Chaucerian influence upon Milton and enable one to revise certain impressions of his treatment of Chaucer.

2. *Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England*³

In the tract, *Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England*, published in 1641, Milton twice finds occasion to refer to Chaucer. In the first instance⁴ he quotes the familiar lines:

Full sweetly heard he confession
And pleasant was his absolution
He was an easie man to give pennance.⁵

In a note *ad loc.*⁶ the editor, Mr. Hale, remarks: "Note that Milton has modernized Chaucer's text." The passage as quoted by Milton is, to be sure, modernized, but the modernization is not Milton's; for this had already taken place in the edition of 1602 where one may find the identical words and spellings—with one insignificant difference, "pennaunce" instead of Milton's "pennance."⁷

Further on in Book II of the same work⁸ Milton cites as Chaucer's the supposititious *Ploughman's Tale*, Part II, stanza 28, and Part III, stanza 1.⁹ On this allusion to "Chaucer," Mr. Hale notes,¹⁰ "Milton is

¹ *Commonplace Book* (*ed. cit.*), p. 111.

² *C.T.*, C67-69.

³ References are to the convenient and accurate edition by W. T. Hale, *Yale Studies in English*, Vol. LIV (1916), verified against a copy of the 1641 ed.

⁴ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

⁵ *C.T.*, A221-23.

⁶ *Ed. cit.*, p. 137.

⁷ Mr. Hale surely did not have this single slightly archaic spelling in mind.

⁸ *Ed. cit.*, p. 44.

⁹ *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (*ed. Skeat*), VII, 169, vss. 693-708. In quoting, Milton makes the following alterations in his 1602 text, writing "sometime" for "somtime"; "lordship" for "lordeship"; "proud" for "proude"; "defend" for "defende"; "folks" for "folkes"; "amend" for "amende"; "Moses" for "Moyses"; "law" for "lawe"; "preists" for "priestes"; "held" for "helde" (*OE healdan*); "Lordships" for "Lordshipped"; "embrace" for "embrace"; "sheep" for "shepe"; "keep" for "kepo"; "doubt" for "dout." In vs. 697 Milton has rather unsuccessfully tried his hand at emendation: in the 1602 ed. (and Skeat) the verse reads, "So of this Realme is in dout" (Likewise this realm [England] is in jeopardy). Milton alters "in" to "no," thus destroying the sense.

¹⁰ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 149, 150.

wrong," and then goes on to a brief account of how the *Ploughman's Tale* came for a time to pass as Chaucerian. One can only observe that in the 1602 edition this tale occurs within the *Canterbury Tales* where it immediately precedes the *Parson's Tale*; it was obviously regarded by Milton as genuine.

3. *Il Penseroso*

Everyone is familiar with the verses in *Il Penseroso* (vss. 109-15) in which Milton would evoke the author of the half-told *Squire's Tale*:

Or call up him that left half told
The story of Cambuscan bold
Of Camball and of Algarsife
And who had Canace to wife. . . .

Is it by chance alone that Milton's fancy was caught by the unfinished character of this tale to make it thus the focus of his felicitous allusion to Chaucer? It is scarcely to be doubted that he knew, or knew of, the uninspired continuation by his father's friend, John Lane, or the fancifully inadequate treatment by Spenser in the *Fairy Queen*.¹ Both may have influenced him here, but there is yet another likely stimulus.

In the 1602 edition, Stow distributed his "arguments" to Chaucer's poems from their earlier (1598) position at the beginning of the volume to a conspicuous position (in roman type) at the beginning of the respective poems.² The "argument" to the *Squire's Tale* (fol. 22^v) runs as follows:

The King of Arabie sendeth to Cambuscan King of Sarra, an horse and a sword of rare qualitie: and to his daughter Canace a glasse and a ring, by the vertue whereof shee understandeth the language of all foules. Much of this Tale is either lost, or else never finished by Chaucer.

May not this emphasis upon the unfinished character of the tale—combined with other influences—have been a prominent factor in catching Milton's attention?

In connection with this same passage in *Il Penseroso*, let us pause for a moment on the proper names that occur there: "Camball," "Algarsife," and "Canace" are close enough to the standard spellings,³

¹ IV, II, 30 ff.

² See E. P. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³ By standard spelling I mean those spellings adopted from the best MSS by Skeat for his edition.

but "Cambuscan" is sufficiently different from "Cambinskan" ("Cambynskan")¹ of Skeat's Oxford edition and of many MSS to warrant inquiry into the source of Milton's form. The answer is to be found in the black-letter editions, all of which—including Milton's of 1602—have "Cambuscan," "Cābuscan."²

"CAMBUSCAN," "CAMBIUSCAN," AND "CAMBINSKAN"

Milton's source for "Cambuscan" is clear, and what follows may be regarded as a digressive note upon Chaucer's form of the name.

Skeat and the Six-Text edition print "Cambinskan"³ for Chaucer's form of "Gengis-Khan." Is this correct? That is, is this what Chaucer originally wrote? Against "Cambinskan" adopted by Skeat there is much to be said. First and foremost there is the reading of Ellesmere⁴ which Furnivall thought "*more like Cambyuskan all through*"⁵ and which Koch prints as "Cambyuskan" in his edition of the *Canterbury Tales* based upon this MS.⁶ Furnivall likewise queried Hengwrt, F12. In his edition just mentioned, Koch notes the reading "Cambiusrkan" in the Cambridge University Library MS Dd. 4. 24; while in the Cardigan MS (of the Dd.-group) and in Trinity College Cambridge MS R. 3.3 the form is "Cambuscan."⁷ Finally, Thynne on Speght testifies to the existence of MSS known to him in which the spelling "Cambiusrkan" occurred.⁸ The MS evidence, headed by Ellesmere, is accordingly fairly strong for "Cambiusrkan."

¹ C.T., F12, 28, 42, 58, 266, 345, and 661.

² Skeat, *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, III, 471 n., notes this identity but draws no inferences; nor is the point brought out in any of the many editions of *Il Penseroso* which I have consulted.

³ Though Furnivall queries both Ellesmere *passim* and Hengwrt at C.T., F12.

⁴ C.T., F12 *et passim*.

⁵ Furnivall's side-note to F12 in Six-Text ed. In his note to C.T., F12, Skeat passes rather lightly over this comment of Furnivall.

⁶ J. Koch, *Geoffrey Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales"* ("Eng. Textbibl.", [Heidelberg, 1915], No. 16, p. 199). Koch retains this spelling in his revised edition of Hertzberg's *Geoffrey Chaucer's Canterbury-Erzählungen* (Berlin: Stubenrauch, 1925), pp. 257 ff. On the basis of careful examination of the Manchester University Press 1911 facs. ed. of Ellesmere, I observe (Vol. I, last 15 pp.) that *u* and *n* are often alike, a *u* sometimes resembling an *n*, and vice versa. But in "Cambiusrkan" in F12, 28, 266, 345, 661, the letter in question is as clear cut a *u* as a *u* ever is; in F58 it may be a *u* or an *n*, while in F42, on the other hand, it is equally clearly an *n*. The weight of numbers favors the reading *u*.

⁷ For the Cardigan reading I am indebted to Mr. F. N. Robinson, of Harvard University, and for that in MS Trin. Coll. R. 3.3 to University of Chicago photostats.

⁸ Francis Thynne, *Animadversions, etc.* ("E.E.T.S.", No. 9) (rev. ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1875), p. 54, and cf. n. 1.

In further support of the theory that the spelling with *u* was Chaucer's and not a scribal error is the fact that the name "Camiustan" (< Ghengis Khan) is found a century before Chaucer's time in the *Itinerarius* (or *Liber peregrinationis*) of Frater Ricoldus de Monte-crucis (Ricoldo di Montecroce, †1309).¹

Were the direct source of the *Squire's Tale* at hand, the problem would be greatly simplified, but as it is, may one not better assume that "Cambiustan"—etymologically more likely (< Ghengis Khan) and preserved in the various MSS cited above—was Chaucer's form, and that "Cambinskan" reflects a widely perpetuated scribal error.

4. *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*

In Section I of the *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence*, published anonymously in 1641, Milton finds occasion to cite a number of Chaucerian proper names:

Remember how they mangle our Brittish names abroad; what trespassse were it, if wee in requitall should as much neglect theirs? and our learned Chaucer did not stick to doe so, writing *Semiramis* for *Semiramus*, *Amphiorax* for *Amphiaraus*, K.[ing] *Sejes* for K.[ing] *Ceyx*, the husband of *Alcyone*, with many other names strangely metamorphos'd from true *Orthography*, if he had made any account of that in these kind of words.²

Besides showing that Milton read Chaucer with considerable attention to detail, the spellings of the above-listed proper names further illustrate certain characteristic features of Milton's Chaucer and enable us in some instances to determine the particular poem from which Milton drew the name in question.

a) *Semiramus*.—Chaucer alludes thrice to Σεμίραμις: in the *Parlement of Foules* (vs. 288), in the *Legend of Thisbe* (*Leg.*, vs. 707), and in the *Man of Law's Tale* (*C.T.*, B359), but in Milton's edition of 1602 the spelling "Semyramus" appears only in the *Parlement* (fol. 234^v); in the *Legend* it is "Simiramus" (fol. 188^r) and in the *Man of Law's*

¹ The *Itinerarius* is edited by J. K. M. Laurent in his *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor* (Leipzig, 1864; 2d ed., 1873) from MS. Wolfenbüttel, No. 40. In the *Itinerarius*, IX, 2 (1st ed. cit., p. 119), one may read *Magnus Chan*, cuius nomen Camiustan; but there is no doubt but an instance of the common scribal error for *c*. Skeat comments on the *Itinerarius* in his note to *C.T.*, F12.

² *Op. cit.* (ed. 1641), p. 6, and inexactly transcribed in *Prose Works of John Milton* (Bohn ed.), III, 46.

Tale "Symyram" (fol. 18^v). Thus we may feel sure that he is quoting, so to speak, from the *Parlement*.

b) *Sejes*.—Kήνξ appears in two poems: in the *Book of the Duchess* (vss. 63, 75, 142, 220, 229, and 1327) and in the *Man of Law's Prologue* (C.T., B57). Where did Milton find the spelling "Sejes"? Not in the *Man of Law's Prologue*; for in all black-letter editions preceding Milton the familiar line "In youthe he made of Ceys and Alcion" appears as "In youth he made of sixe all alone."¹ But in verses 63 and 75 of the *Book of the Duchess* in the 1602 edition (fol. 227^v) one finds "Seies,"² the form used by Milton (with the typographical variation of *j* for *i*).

c) *Amphiorax*.—Chaucer mentions Αμφιάραος four times, and in Skeat's edition as follows: *Anelida and Arcite*, 57 ("Amphiorax"), *Wife of Bath's Tale* (C.T., D741, *idem*) and in the *Troilus*, II, 105, and V, 1500 (*idem*). Milton did not find the offensive spelling in C.T., D741 where (1602 ed., fol. 34^v) the "correct" spelling, "Amphiaraus," occurs; but he may have had in mind either the *Anelida* or the *Troilus*, where "Amphiorax" is the reading on folios 243^v, 149^r, and 180^f, respectively.

Thus the foregoing quotation furnishes definite and rather interesting evidence of Milton's somewhat close familiarity with the *Parlement* ("Semyramus"), with the *Book of the Duchess* ("Sejes"), known of course to Milton as *The Dreame of Chaucer*, and with either the *Anelida* or the *Troilus* ("Amphiorax").³

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¹ So in 1602 (fol. 17^v); *idem* in 1598 and 1561. In the 1542 ed. the verse runs "In youthe he made of syxe al a lone"; in Thynne's undated ed. and in 1532, *idem*, with "sixe" for "syxe."

² Elsewhere in this edition the spelling is "Seis" (fol. 227^v, 228^r, and 233^v). The spelling "Sejes" would not alone suffice to define Milton's obligation to the 1602 ed. In the editions of 1532, 1542, and Thynne's undated ed., the only spelling is "Seyes," but in that of 1561, we find "Seles" (vs. 63), "Seyes" (vs. 75), elsewhere "Seis" (vss. 142, 229, 1327), and "Seyes" (vs. 220), and in 1598 "Seles" (vss. 63, 142, 229), "Seyes" (vss. 75, 220), and "Sels" (vs. 1327). In connection with the spellings "Seies," "Seyes," it is perhaps worth suggesting that their appearance in the edd. of 1561 and following are due to a conflation with MS Fairfax 16 (or a like MS) which (Skeat, *Works*, I, 279) reads "Seyes" in vss. 63 and 75.

³ Very likely the more popular and more admired *Troilus*.

SOME ADVERBIAL FORMATIONS IN OLD NORSE

I. ADVERBIAL FORMATIONS OF THE TYPE *ár-deg-is*, "EARLY IN THE DAY"

The question as to the origin of this type of adverbial substantive formation requires an explanation of the irregular genitive ending *-is* with resultant *i*-umlaut of the radical vowel of the substantive (cf. *samma dags*, "the same day," but *ár-deg-is*, "early in the day").

Since the ending *-is* in *ár-deg-is* corresponds to the *i+s* of the genitive singular of the long neuter *ja*-stems (cf. *byrði:byrði-s*), it is possible that the original genitive form *-dag-s* was remodeled to *-deg-is* after the type *byrð-is* (the end syllable *-is* being felt as the genitive singular ending).

With a view to testing the correctness of this hypothesis I offer in the following a fairly complete list of adverbial formations in *-is*, arranging them under two heads: (a) *-is* belonging to long neuter *ja*-stems and therefore of primary origin, and (b) *-is* attached to other substantive stems and therefore of secondary origin.

a) PRIMARY FORMATIONS IN *-is*; LONG NEUTER *ja*-STEMS

1. *byrði*, "board": gen. *byrði-s*; *út*, *inn-byrði-s*, "overboard, on board."

2. *hverfi*, "circle": gen. *hverfi-s*; *um(b)-hverfi-s*, "round about."

3. *sinni*, "time": gen. *sinni-s*; *marg-*, *opt-sinni-s*, "many times, often times." We also have a form *sinn* (*a*-stem): gen. *sinn-s*, but there is nothing to prevent our assuming that the form *-sinni-s* is primary, i.e., the gen. sing. form of *sinni*.

4. *-streymi*, "current": gen. *-streymi-s*; found only in *and-streymis*, "against the current."

5. *týni*, "common farm or homestead": gen. *týni-s*; *sam-týni-s*, "on the same homestead."

6. *-vidri*, "wind, weather": gen. *-vidri-s*; found only in *for-vidri-s*, "before the wind."

b) SECONDARY FORMATIONS IN *-is*; STEMS OTHER THAN
LONG NEUTER *ja*-STEMS

All these formations show secondary *j*-umlaut of the radical vowel except those containing the radical vowel *e*.

1. *dagr*, "day": gen. *dag-s*; *ár-deg-is*, "early in the day."
2. [*for*]-*berg*, "projecting rock": gen. *-berg-s*; *for-berg-is*, "down-hill."
3. *brekka*, "slope, hill": gen. *brekk-u*; *for-brekk-is*, "downhill."
4. *fang*, "grasping": gen. *fang-s*; *bráð-feng-is*, "in great haste"—regular formation *bráða-fang-s*.
5. *fótr*, "foot": gen. *fót-ar*; *jafn-fót-is*, "on equal footing."
6. *hönd*, "hand": gen. *hand-ar*; *bráð-hend-is* (>*brad-end-is*), "suddenly."
7. *hæll*, "heel": gen. *hæl-s*; *and-hæl-is*, "backward, crossly, perversely." In the sense of "crossly, perversely," *and-hæl-is* may represent a primary formation, i.e., the genitive singular form of *and-hæl-i*, "monstrosity, perversity."
8. *kaup*, "bargain": gen. *kaup-s*; *ó-keyp-is*, "gratis."
9. *land*, "land": gen. *land-s*; *útan-lend-is*: *er-lend-is*, "abroad"—regular formation *útan-land-s*, "abroad."
10. *leid*, "way": gen. *leid-ar*; *á-, af-, heim-leid-is*, "on the right, wrong path, homeward," etc.
11. *skeid*, "course": gen. *skeid-s*; *af-skeid-is*, "out of the course, astray."
12. *sól*, "sun": gen. *sól-ar*; *and-sól-is*, "against the sun."
13. *spánn*, "target": gen. *spán-ar*; *and-spæn-is*, lit. "opposite the target," i.e., "directly opposite."
14. *stund*, "period of time": gen. *stund-ar*; *sjald-stund-is*, "seldom."
15. *tið*, "time": gen. *tið-ar*; *sam-tið-is*, "at the same time."
16. *vegr*, "way": gen. *veg-ar*; *fram-veg-is*, "further," *tví-veg-is*, "twice."
17. *ár*, "oar": gen. *ár-ar*; *and-ær-is*, lit. "against the oar," i.e., "crossly, perversely."

Grimm suggests¹ for the origin of the ending *-is* in this latter type of formation (which I have designated as "secondary formation")

¹ Gramm., III, 93, 132-33.

two alternative explanations,¹ viz., that the ending *-is* is due either (1) to a genitive singular *is*-ending of a corresponding adjectival *ja/jō*-stem, or (2) to a genitive singular *is*-ending of a corresponding substantive neuter *ja*-stem.

Neither of these two alternatives seems to me at all convincing. Grimm is in either case forced to postulate forms which, so far as we know, never occurred. In the first place, we have no adjectival forms of the genitive neuter singular ending (strong) in *-is* (but always in *-s*). Then again, it is not necessary to postulate for any of these secondary formations a neuter *ja*-stem (with genitive in *-is*). The simplest explanation is to assume that in such adverbial formations the syllable *-is* plus the umlaut of the radical vowel was borrowed by force of analogy from the long neuter *ja*-stems; i.e., long substantive neuter *ja*-stems (whose genitive singular ended in the syllable *-is*) had established a pattern for substantive adverbial formations, which pattern was followed by other substantives² whose genitive singular form did not end in the syllable *-is*.

How could Grimm explain, e.g., the form *ár-deg-is?* This word is clearly a substantive formation like *dags*; it cannot go back to an adjectival *ja/jō*-stem nor to a substantive neuter *ja*-stem, for in this case the form would have been **-deg-s* not *-deg-is*. The form *-deg-is*, however, may easily be explained as an analogical formation after the modal of the type *byrd-is*, etc.

Furthermore, Grimm makes no attempt to explain the absence of umlaut in those secondary formations which contain the radical vowel *e*. Of this type we have the following examples: (2) *for-berg-is* (*for-berg*), "downhill"; (3) *for-brekk-is* (*brekka*), "downhill"; and (16) *fram-veg-is* (*vegr*), "further."

In all these examples we see that the adverbial formation preserves the literal meaning of the substantive: *for-berg-is* means "down-

¹ Cf. p. 132: "Es ist folglich anzunehmen, dass der bildung des adv. die composition entw. eines adj. (vgl. oben s. 93) oder eines neutr. zweiter decl. vorausgegangen sei, wodurch der gen. auf *is* und der umlaut gerechtfertigt werde." In regard to the type of adjective to which he refers, he says (p. 93): "Die dem mhd. widerhaeres, widersinnes fast analogen altn. adv. auf *is* (andhaerls, andstreymis u.s.w.) wären adjectivischer natur und hier aufzuzählen, wenn sich erweisen liesse, dass ihnen adj. zweiter decl. zu grund liegen, z.b. andhaer, andstreymr, deren gen. nicht *s* sondern *is* gehabt hätte. diese vollere flexion könnte nun das adv. bewahrt haben."

² For a similar transference of the genitive singular ending in substantive adverbial formations cf. Ger. *nacht-s* where the *-s* was borrowed from *tag-s* (cf. OHG *tag-es*; *nacht-es*), similarly *andrer-seit-s*, *besten-s*, etc.

hill" (-berg); *for-brekk-is*, "down hill, slope" (*brekka*); and *fram-veg-is*, lit. "forward on the way" (*veg-*) (cf. *annars veg-ar*, "by another way"). This fact shows that the substantives in question were in these secondary formations still closely associated with the original independent word and thus escaped the influence of the umlaut. It will be noted that these formations in question all denoted direction, and in the idea of direction the notion of the original independent substantive was evidently not yet obscured in the linguistic consciousness. This was not true to the same extent when the adverbial formation acquired a derived sense or when the semantic development of the adverbial formation deviated from the basic sense of the independent substantive. To be sure, the form *tví-veg-is*, "twice," is used in a derived sense and thus deviates somewhat from the original sense of *veg-*, "way," but this formation has simply followed the pattern of *-veg-is* in *fram-veg-is* where the literal sense of the word still obtains.

Secondary formations in *and-*, "against, opposite," occur quite frequently. Although all these compounds denote direction, just as do the compounds with *for-*, I find that in each case there is a derived sense which tended to obscure association with the original independent substantive. Of secondary adverbial formations compounded with *and-* we have the following examples: (13) *and-spæn-is* (*spánn: spán-ar*, "target"), lit. "opposite the target," i.e., "directly opposite"; (17) *and-ær-is* (*ár:árár*, "oar"), lit. "opposite, against the oar," i.e., "crossly, perversely"; and (12) *and-sól-is* (*sól:sól-ar*, "sun"), "against the sun" but also used in the derived sense of "unluckily" and practically synonymous with *and-ær-is* and *and-hæl-is*,¹ both of which are used in this sense.²

It is safe to assume that in the case of *and-spæn-is*, "directly opposite," and of *and-ær-is*, "crossly, perversely," the sense of the original independent substantives, respectively *spánn*, "target," and *ár*, "oar," was entirely lost. As for *and-sól-is*, "against the sun," which preserves the original sense of the independent substantive *sól*, we may assume that the derived sense of "unluckily," whereby the word became associated with *and-ær-is* and *and-hæl-is* (both of which con-

¹ The independent substantive *hæll* (< *háhilaR), "heel," from which *and-hæl-is* is derived already contained the umlauted vowel.

² Cf. Cleasby-Vigfússon, under *and-sól-is*.

tain the umlauted radical vowel), favored the umlauted form of the radical vowel.

The absence of the analogical *j*-umlaut in these secondary adverbial formations has to do not with the nature of the radical vowel (*e*) but with the matter of association with the original un-umlauted vowel of the independent substantive. The circumstance that the exemption from umlaut was confined to the vowel *e*—I have found no other vowel exempted—is to my mind merely fortuitous.

II. *qdru-visi:-vis:-viss:-visu:-visa*, "OTHERWISE"

It is evident that for the various forms of *-vis-*, which occur as the second member of this adverbial compound, we must postulate two originally distinct substantives, namely, *vis*, neut. *a*-stem, and *visa*, fem. *ōn*-stem.¹

In regard to these various forms of *-vis-*, Fritzner (*Ordbog*, under *vis*) says: "*Vis, visa, visi, visu* forekommer som et tilsyneladende neutralt Substantiv." This statement is misleading (if not incorrect) since it assumes, e.g., that the form *-visu* (fem. *ōn*-stem) represents an "apparently neuter substantive" on the ground that *qdru* is the neuter (dat. sing.) form of the adjective. According to Fritzner's implication, we might further assume that the forms *-viss* and *-vis* are both "apparently dative" forms on the ground that the adjective *qdru-* is in the dative case.

The fact is that we have here to do with a type of adverbial compound whose first member has become fixed, resulting in a lack of grammatical agreement between the adjective of the first member and the substantive of the second member; cf., e.g., *hversu*, "how" <*hvers-ug*<*hvers* (gen.) *-veg* (acc.), and German *aller* (gen.) *-wegen* (dat.), "everywhere."

From the fixed form of our adjective *qdru-* (dat. sing. neut.) we may conclude that this form grew out of its usage in the combination *qdru-vis-i* (dat. sing. neut.) in which grammatical agreement was preserved (cf. the synonymous phrase *at qdruum kosti*, "otherwise"). It is not necessary to explain the lack of grammatical agreement in the case of the other forms of *-vis-* which occur in this combination; it

¹ Cf. OHG *wis(a)*, OE *wise*, both meaning "way, manner."

will be necessary only to explain these forms in their adverbial usage as case forms of the substantives *vís* and *vísa*.

The various forms derived from *vís* are easily explained; viz., *-vís-s* (adv. gen., *qdru-vís-s* = *annars kostar*, "otherwise"), *-vís* (adv. acc.; cf. *braut:brott*, acc. "away").

The form *-vísu* may be explained as the accusative of *vísa*, parallel to *-vís*. The form *-vísa* is not so clear; it cannot in this adverbial usage represent the nominative form *vísa* although the form coincides with that of the nominative. Since the whole phrase *qdru-vísa* has an adverbial force, I explain the form *-vísa* as derived not from *vísa* but from *vís* (acc. of neut. *a*-stem) plus the adverbial suffix *-a* (<Goth. *-ð*) as in *víða*, "far, widely," i.e., *qdru-vísa* means lit. "otherwisely." This explanation of the form *qdru-vísa* seems to me the only possible one in view of the fact that the form *-vísa* here cannot represent the nominative singular form *vísa* and does not occur in the oblique cases.

III. *-vet-n-a:-vit-n-a* AS THE SECOND MEMBER OF COMPOUNDS WITH INDEFINITE FORCE

The form *-vet-n-a* (*-vit-n-a*) with inorganic *-n-* (instead of **vettal*: **vitta*,¹ gen. plur. of *vettr*, "thing") occurs as the second member of such compounds as *hvar-vet-n-a*, "wherever, everywhere"; *hvat-vet-n-a*, "anything, whatsoever," etc. The word *-vetna* lends to the adverb (or pronoun) an indefinite sense and may therefore be treated here under the head of adverbial formations (cf. *-ki* [adv.] in *hvat-ki* = *hvat-vetna* or Ger. *auch* [adv.] in *was auch* = ON *hvat-vetna*).

Since we should expect the regular forms *-*vetta:-*vitta* without *-n-* instead of *-vet-n-a:-vit-n-a*, the question under discussion is as to the origin of the inorganic *-n-* in the genitive plural form. This *-n-* must be inorganic since the history of this word does not show any forms which could go back to a PG root with an *n*-suffix appearing in the genitive plural form (cf. Goth. *wathts* cons. stem > *i*-stem = ON *vettr* [*vétr:vætr*]).

The following attempt to explain this inorganic *-n-* in *-vet-n-a* (*-vit-n-a*), while not offered as a conclusive proof, may perhaps be worthy of serious consideration.

¹ Cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*⁴, § 110, 1.

I suspect that the *-n-* in *-vet-n-a*:*-vit-n-a* is due to the influence of the adverbial suffix *-na* in such formations¹ as *hér-na*, "here"; *þar-na*, "there"; *svá-na*, "so"; *gær-na*, "yesterday"; *nú-na*, "now," etc. This adverbial suffix seems to have had an intensive demonstrative force (cf. *hér-na*, "right here"; *svá-na*, "just so," etc.). It was, furthermore, not confined to adverbial expressions but could be attached to any kind of word or even to a phrase which the speaker wished to emphasize (cf. *eigi þér-na*, "not to you"; *þat hefi ek spurt-na*, "I have just heard that that"). In the latter phrase the matter of time is emphasized, i.e., "I have heard that just now."

Now, it is possible that in the form *-vet-n-a* (*-vit-n-a*) we have a case of substitution of *-vet-na* in place of the original, phonetically correct form **vett-a*, the adverbial suffix *-na*, by reason of its intensive force, being substituted for the genitive plural ending *-a*. The word *-vett-a* emphasized the indefinite force of *hvæt-*, *hvar-*, etc. (i.e., "whatever," "where-ever") and the suffix-particle *-na* (in place of the gen. plur. ending *-a*) simply served as a further intensive to this indefinite force, just as it serves as an intensive, e.g., to the pronoun *þér* (*-na*) or to the time element in *hefi ek spurt* (*-na*) as quoted above.

The form *-vet-na* (*-vit-na*) finally established itself over the form **vett-a* (**vitt-a*) with the result that the syllable *-na* was no longer felt to be the adverbial suffix *-na*² but the genitive plural ending with inorganic *-n-* derived from a substantive stem as in *veg-na*³ (*vegr* a-stem, "way").

A parallel in support of the contention that an adverb with intensive force may acquire an indefinite force by association with a pronoun (or adverb) of indefinite force may be seen in the German emphatic adverb *auch*, "also, even." When associated with a pronoun (or adverb) of indefinite force *auch* likewise acquires an indefinite force (cf. *was auch*, *wo auch*, "whatever, wherever"). Similarly, the intensive adverbial suffix ON *-na* in conjunction with the indefinite **vett-a* > *-vet-na* acquired an indefinite force, i.e., it served to

¹ Cf. Fritzner, *Ordbog*, under *-na*.

² In a similar way the adverbial ending *-a* in *qdrus-va-a* (see II) may have been felt as the substantive ending *-a* (nom. sing.).

³ For the explanation of the inorganic *-n-* in *veg-n-a* see Grimm, *op. cit.*, III, 35, 266.

intensify the indefinite force of this word (cf. *hvat-*, *hvar-vet-n-a*¹ = Ger. *was auch*, *wo auch*).

Since there seems to be absolutely no basis for assuming that the *-n-* in *-vet-n-a* has its origin in the substantival *n*-suffix (as in *veg-n-a*), the explanation given above seems to me worthy of consideration, at least until a better one can be found.

IV. THE INTENSIVE PREFIXES *afar-:afr-, ofr-*

Alongside *af-* we find the forms *afar-:afr-*, and alongside *of-:ofa* the form *ofr-* used as intensive prefixes; e.g., *af-*, *of-drykka*, "drunkenness" (cf. Goth. *af-drugkja*, "drunkard"); *afar-audigr*, *-breidr*, *-fagr*, "very rich, broad, fair"; *afr-yrdi*, "insolent words"; *afr-hendr*, "very strong"; *ofa-fé*, "a vast amount of money"; *of-*, *ofr-hiti*, "excessive heat"; *ofr-qlvi*, "excessively drunk," etc.

Since the adverbial forms *af-*, *of-*, and *of-a* are readily identified with corresponding forms in the other Germanic languages, the question under discussion here is as to the origin and nature of the longer forms *afar-:afr-* and *ofr-*.

The form *af-* is obviously identical with Gothic *af* and WG *af* (OE *af*, OS *af*, OHG *ab*), "away from," and as an intensive prefix evidently signifies "away from [the normal, what is usual]," hence "excessive(ly)."

The form *af-ar-* may therefore be considered as the comparative form of *af-*, meaning "farther away [than usual from the normal]," and hence serves simply as a strengthened form of the intensive *af-*.

The suffix *-ar* may be derived from the IE comparative suffix *-er-* which appears in the comparative of adverbs denoting place,² and therefore there is no reason why ON *af-ar-* should not be identified with Gothic *af-ar*,³ "after"; OHG *av-ar*, "again, against" > NHG *aber*.

¹ Cf., on the other hand, the genitive form *vatt-a* in the phrases *ekki vatt-a* (*vattanna* with suffixed article), "nothing at all"; *nøkkul vatt-a*, "something or other." From the form *vatt-a* (gen. plur.) in these phrases we may assume that the form [*hvat-*], [*hvar-*]*vet-na* goes back to a genitive plural form **vatt-a*. In the former cases *vatt-a* was still felt as a substantive, whereas in the case of [*hvat-*], [*hvar-*]**vett-a* this genitive plural form was no longer felt as a substantive in connection with the first element of the compound (*hvat*, *hvar*) but as an adverbial formation. We find that the adverbial suffix *-na* was most often added to adverbs, and on this ground I explain its presence in the case of *-vet-na* over against the form *vatt-a* in the substantival adverbial phrases quoted above.

² Cf. Kluge, *Urgerm.*, § 290; Heusler, *Aial. Gramm.*, § 113.

³ According to the traditional view, however, ON *af-ar-* is not identical with Goth. *af-ar-* but with Goth. *abr-[s]*, "strong"; OE *eaf-od*, "strength," from a PG root *ab, "strong" < IE *op (cf. Lat. *op-us*); see Fick, *Vgl. Etym. Wib. der indogerm. Sprachen*, p. 16, under

But how is the shorter form *afr-* to be explained? Since the forms *af-* and *of-:of-a¹* are synonymous we might explain the form *afr-* as due to the force of analogy with *ofr-*, but the form *ofr-* still remains unexplained.

The form *of-*, "up, over" = Gothic *uf* < IE **upó* (Gk. *ὑπό*, Lat. *sub*), evidently signifies as an intensive "over [what is normal]." Just as the regular comparative form of *af* is *af-ar*, so the regular comparative form of *of* is *of-ar*, which actually occurs as an independent adverb meaning "higher up" (contrary to the case of *af-ar*, which occurs only as a prefix). The ON form *of-ar* is obviously identical with Gothic *uf-ar*, OHG *ob-ar*, OS *ob-ar*, OE *of-er* > NE "over" (cf. ON *af-ar-* with Goth. *af-ar*, OHG *av-er*, etc.).

In the case of both ON *af-ar-* and *of-ar* the comparative suffix *-ar* (<IE *-er*) appears, as in the case of all adverbs² denoting direction; cf. *inn:inn-ar(r)*, *út:út-ar(r)*, *sudr*, "south": *sunn-ar(r)*. On the other hand, adverbs denoting intensity of degree, such as "little," "much," "very," "well," etc., regularly form their comparatives by means of the suffix *-r* (<-**iz*) (cf. *litt:minn-r*; *mjok:meir(r)*; *heldr*, "rather"; *vel:betr*, etc.).

Now, it is possible that in order to differentiate the independent adverb *of-ar* from the intensive prefix **of-ar-*, the form of the prefix **of-ar-* was reduced to *ofr-* after the model of the intensive adverbs (as mentioned above) but without the resultant i-umlaut because of association with the positive form *of-*.

That the form *-ofr* is not a survival of IE conditions but represents a subsequent, specific ON development is supported by the fact that the cognates of ON *of-ar* are used without a similar reduction as an intensive prefix in both Gothic and West Germanic (cf. Goth. *ufarfulls*, OE *ofer-hygd*, OS *obar-hugd*, OHG *obar-lüt*, etc.).

In the case of the prefix *afar-* we have no corresponding *independent*

abra; Falk and Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wtb.*, I, 38, under *asi* I; Feist, *Etym. Wtb. der got. Sprache*, p. 1, under *abra*. In none of these works is the relation of the form ON *af-ar* to *afr-* discussed. It is evident that ON *af-ar* cannot be identical with Goth. *abr-[s]*, since ON *-ar* is not consonant with Goth. *-r*. On the other hand, if ON *afr-* is a phonetically correct form identical with Goth. *abr-[s]*, the form *af-ar-* still remains unexplained.

¹ With ON *of-a* cf. OE *uf-e-*, OHG *of-a*.

² Adjectives denoting direction form their comparatives in *-*iz>-r*, but this is not true of the corresponding adverbs; with the adverbial comparative forms given in my text cf. the corresponding adjectival formations: *of:ef-ri*, *inn:inn-ri*, *út:ytri*, *sudr:syd-ri*.

adverb, so that here there was evidently no reason for differentiating the form of the independent adverb (denoting the idea of direction) from that of the prefix (denoting the idea of intensity).

If the foregoing explanation of the form *ofr-* be correct, then the synonymous form *afr-* may be explained as an analogical reduction of the regular form *afar-* after the model of **ifar->ofr-*.

V. THE ADVERB *áðr*, "SOONER, BEFORE"

The difficulty in the way of explaining the adverbial form *áðr*, "sooner, before," consists in the fact that the comparative sense of the word is not consonant with the form.¹

If the final *-r* in *áðr* represents the comparative ending *-*iz*, then we should expect the resultant *i*-umlaut, i.e., **æðr* (cf. *naðr* < **náhw-iz* < Goth. *néhw-is*).

Again, if the *-ðr* in *áðr* represents an IE comparative suffix *-ter-*, we should expect this suffix to appear as *-ðar²* (i.e., **áð-ðar*) and not as *-ðr*.

In view of these facts and because the form *áðr* corresponds³ to the positive adverbial formations OE *áðr-(e)*, OS *áðr-(o)*, "early," we must conclude that the ON form *áðr* is not a comparative but a positive formation (identical with the West Germanic forms) which originally, as in West Germanic, had a positive sense ("early") but later acquired a comparative sense. The problem seems to me, therefore, fundamentally a semantic one, in which the form of the word plays the decisive part.

We have in Old Norse a positive adverbial formation *áð-an*, "a while ago, just a little before." Because of the meaning of *áð-[an]* it is probable that this *áð*, "early," is identical with the *áð-* in *áðr*, "earlier." In this case the final *-r* in *áðr* still remains to be explained.

¹ Cf. Heusler, *op. cit.*, § 468: "Begrifflich gleich ae. *ár*, ad. *er*, got. **airis* 'eher,' aber lautlich angelehnt an **áþra* = as. *áðro*, ae. *áðre* 'fruh.'

² Cf. the form *hva-dar-r*, "which of two" = Goth. *hwa-þar* (Sk. *ka-tard*, Gk. *τόπος*, Lat. *u-ter*); see Kluge, *loc. cit.*; Heusler, *op. cit.*, § 113. The fact that IE *-ter-* becomes *-dar* in ON renders impossible Fick's proposed etymology of ON *áðr* (*op. cit.*, p. 3, under *air*) from **airþr*, comparative form of **air* (> ON *ár*, "early"). Besides, Fick must here also account for the loss of the first *-r* in **airþr*.

³ Except for the addition of the adverbial suffix the ON and WG forms correspond sound for sound: ON *á* = WG *á* (< PG *θ*), ON *d* = WG *d* (< PG *d*), and ON *r* = WG *r*. That the adverbial suffix *-*ð* = ON *-a* does not appear in *áðr* is immaterial, since adverbs occasionally appear in stem form in ON; cf. *nóð*, *all*, *lang*, *slik*, etc.

Be this as it may, it is possible, nevertheless, that the form *áðr*-*r* (which originally had a positive sense) came to be felt as a comparative of *áð-[an]* and therefore acquired a comparative sense, i.e., "earlier, before."

It would be easy enough to identify the final *-r* in *áðr*-*r* as an adverbial comparative ending, especially of the type *mi-dr*, *si-dr* (both of which, like *á-dr*, end in *-dr*), were it not for the fact that *áðr* shows no *i*-umlaut of the radical vowel, which regularly occurs with the comparative suffix *-r*. However, if we turn to the synonymous adverb *snimma:snemma*, "early," we find the same radical vowel for both positive and comparative forms as in *áðt:áðr*. The phonetically correct comparative form of *snimma:snemma* is *snimr*, but alongside of *snimr* we find *snemr*, an analogical formation from the positive form *snemma*. If *snimr*, "earlier," could be the comparative form of *snimma*, and *snemr*, "earlier," could be the comparative form of *snemma* (both comparative forms with the same radical vowel as in the positive), then it is not unreasonable to assume that likewise the form *áðr* (without *i*-umlaut of the radical vowel) could be felt as the comparative form of *áð-[an]*, hence the comparative sense "earlier, before." This seems all the more likely inasmuch as the original positive sense of *áðr*, "early" (= OE *áðr-e*, OS *áðr-o*) was already represented by the forms *ár* (<Goth. *áir*) and *snemma:snimma*.

This circumstance may also explain why we have no form **áðt*, "early," corresponding to *áð-an*, "a little before," i.e., because **áðt* had already been displaced by the forms *ár* and *snimma:snemma*, "early."

On the other hand, the comparative form of *ár* (i.e., **aer-r*=OE *ær*, OHG-OS *ér*) was already displaced by *áðr*, *snimr* (*snemr*), *fyr*, etc.

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STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSOGUR NORÐRLANDA

II. THE HERVARAR SAGA

4. THE CONSTITUENT PARTS OF THE SAGA

A. THE INTRODUCTION

There have already been several attempts to analyze this saga: to explain the origin and relation of its diverse parts. It is characteristic of its obviously Icelandic authorship that it deals with a number of generations and like many of the *fornaldarsögur* it is clearly enough a composite of materials not originally related one to another. If one adopt at the outset the purely mechanical method of horizontal division by generations, the result would be about as follows: (1) the genealogical introduction, including the story of the origin of the sword Tyrfingr; (2) the sons of Arngrímur and the battle of Samsey; (3) the valkyrie Hervör; (4) the whole career of Heidrekr; (5) the battle between Goths and Huns; (6) the genealogical connection with the line of Swedish kings.¹ From general experience with Icelandic sagas one may readily surmise that (6) is of no importance to the saga, and that (1) can probably also be detached without great damage, though the sword Tyrfingr has been carried through the whole and has thus assumed an importance which led Sharovolski to speak of the saga in its entirety as the story of the sword Tyrfingr. The career of Heidrekr undoubtedly occupies the center of interest, and it is from this point of view appropriate enough that the last editor of the saga² has preferred to call it the "Heidreks saga," though it is not necessary that a title be descriptive, but only that it serve as an adequate means of identification. Even the story of Heiðrekr itself has much the appearance of being composite: the riddle contest is, for example, one thing and the wise counsels are apparently another. Also in other respects one may have to supplement here and there the horizontal division indicated above, but it roughly covers the case well enough to serve

¹ This is already Heinzel's division, *Sitz.-ber. phil.-hist. Cl. kaiserl. Akad. Wiss. zu Wien*, CXIV (1887), 438 ff.

² Jón Helgason in publications of "Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur" (Copenhagen, 1924-25).

at least as a working arrangement. The latest treatment of the composition of the saga, that of Kemp Malone,¹ may seem at first glance to differ somewhat, but will prove, I think, on closer obversation not to be wholly inconsistent.

If one attempt to characterize the parts a little more closely, (1) is mythological or quasi-mythological, (2) is legendary with its scene in Scandinavia, but pre-Icelandic, (3) is again mythological, (4) is a gathering about the hero of motifs which belong elsewhere, as is more or less characteristic of the Icelandic *fornaldarsaga*, (5) is again legendary, Germanic but non-Scandinavian in its scene and source, (6) is genealogical-historical, corresponding to a well-known tendency of the Icelandic saga author or historian.

Any study of the saga's composition must take into consideration the relation of the different versions, and may, on the other hand, be reasonably expected to shed some light on their relation one to another, so far as this is not already cleared up. In his new edition Helgason has in general accepted my earlier results as to the independent position of U and has furnished the first critically adequate print of this version. His Introduction shows with what care and thoroughness the editor worked, and is itself a very considerable contribution to our knowledge of the saga. The editor raises no express point of disagreement with my results, but in two particulars we were perhaps not completely in accord. The first is in connection with his diagram on page lxxxiv illustrating the relations of the three saga-versions. Assuming that a connecting line between b and H had here fallen out in the printing, we should be left in agreement as suggested on page lxvi. The c would then stand only for the possibility that Haukr in writing H had a third manuscript before him, besides those of the U and R class, a possibility I had taken into consideration, though I am disposed to doubt that he did have such a manuscript. In the other point, that Helgason tends to favor R as closer the original Hervarar saga², he may well be right, but further test is desirable.

To begin with the first in order of the parts of the saga—the introductory matter connected with the acquisition of the sword Tyrfingr—we are at once confronted with a maximum difference of the U and R versions, in that R contains very little and U very much. Here

¹ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Amer.*, XL (1925), 769 ff.

² See his p. lxxxv.

Helgason (p. lxi) has committed himself to the assumption that the shorter version is essentially the original one or lies closer to it. Such a relation is conceivable enough, as is for that matter also the contrary. In the case of different Old Norse versions of the same saga the shorter is undoubtedly likely to prove the older, but the assumption that this is uniformly so would be a dangerous one, and in the Hervarar saga itself is not borne out in the case of the H version. For the Hervarar saga this much may at once be said: the U version has a learned or quasi-learned beginning. The reference to old books, the account of the coming of the *Tyrkjar* and *Asiamenn* from the East with Odin at their head, the making of Odin the starting-point of the genealogy, the geographical fixation of the territories of the giants and of human beings, these are all the kind of features that one finds in such works of learning as the Ynglinga saga at the outset of the *Heimskringla*. It is apparent enough that the same interest is here in question as in the list of Swedish kings at the close of U. R lacks any evidence of this interest at the beginning, and it is perhaps fair to assume that it never contained the list of Swedish kings at its now lost end. Without immediately jumping at the conclusion that R is in all respects the original and U a learned or quasi-learned revision, let us consider the whole saga in the light of this fundamentally important fact.

At the very beginning of U (and H) the location of Jötunheimar corresponds with the usual Old Norse conception that it lay somewhere to the northward (or eastward), that is, in the region of cold.¹ Characteristic for the Hervarar saga is the fairly definite placing of Jötunheimar, which corresponds with the generally euhemeristic treatment of supernatural things in the introductory part of the version U (and H). It lies definitely north of Hálogaland, that is, in Northern Norway, in Finnmark according to H, which is possibly the original reading, though it might also be a geographical correction of Haukr. The reference to Gandvís (the White Sea) instead in U may be due to a copyist's error or alteration. On the other hand, U is probably correct in having the giants intermarry with the inhabitants of Mannheimar² rather than those of Ymisland, as in H. The Ymis-

¹ The location of Jötunheimar is discussed by Schoning in *Dödsriger i nordisk Heden-tro* (1903), pp. 9 ff.

² Mannheimar is here of course the abode of men, not Sweden. See also Helgason, p. lxii.

land occurring between Jötunheimar and Hálogaland was explained by Gíslason¹ as no land of the giant Ymir, but as containing the adjective *ymiss* and meaning then "the mixed land," the land showing a mixed population, due to the intermarriage of giants from the north with human beings from the south. That meaning must certainly have been in the mind of the author of this part of the saga (though he does later connect Ymir with Ymisland), and shows again his rationalizing tendency. It is a similar tendency that made *Asiamenn* out of the gods (*æsir*) and accordingly put Odin at the head of the *Tyrkir* (or *Tyrkjar*) *ok Asiamenn* in their migration into Scandinavia, a conception shared by the *Hervarar* saga with several other Old Norse sources.² Heusler gives in this connection little consideration to the *Hervarar* saga, speaking of the Fas. version which contains it as a late one, while neither of the manuscripts H and R has the allusion to *Tyrkjar ok Asiamenn* with Odin at their head. Of the three versions it does, as a matter of fact, occur only in U, and there twice, the reason for its non-occurrence in H being certainly not clear. It is conceivable that the U version did not originally contain it, but that it was added later, so that it now appears in the two paper manuscripts (u and b) of this version which are preserved.³ This is however not in accord with what we have hitherto ascertained as to the character of the U-version manuscripts and may be regarded as unlikely. The alternative is that Haukr in writing the H version simply left out this statement in both places. A motive for doing so could be found in his tendency to abbreviate generally, and the statement is of course not indispensable.

The placing of Gudmundr in Jötunheimar is probably explicable by the tendency after the introduction of Christianity to make giants out of supernatural beings of the older time. It is doubtful that he was originally conceived of as a giant, but he must at one time have occupied an important place in Old Norse myths or legends and was doubtless treated in now lost alliterative poems.⁴ Various allusions to

¹ "Om Navnet Ymir" (*Vid. Selsk. Skr., 5 Rke., hist.-fil. Afd.* [4B], XI, 450 ff.), 1874.

² Heusler, "Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im altsächsischen Schrifttum," *Abhandl. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, III (1908), 13 ff.

³ Helgason, *op. cit.*, p. lxii.

⁴ Heinzel devoted to him a considerable digression in his treatise upon the *Nibelungen* legend, *Sitz.-ber. phil.-hist. Cl. kaiserl. Akad. Wiss. zu Wien*, CIX (1885), 697 ff.

him in Old Norse sources are all of relatively late date and give little or doubtful information as to what the original story may have been, nor is this of great moment for his appearance in the Hervarar saga. That his homestead is in it called Grund is of little consequence; the name is not uncommon in such capacity and merely indicates that the homestead thus named lies upon relatively level ground, which could in this case be inferred from the more important Glasivellir. That the porsteins saga bœjarmagns has Grundir as his *herad*¹ and the Bósa saga has raised the Grundir to still greater importance as a separate land co-ordinate with Risaland, etc., shows presumably secondary relation to the Hervarar saga, in which Grund as a place-name in connection with Guðmundr probably originated. Except in Saxo Grammaticus the location *d' Glasivöllum* is always associated with his name and must have belonged with it from the beginning. There is some variation in its spelling as in the Hervarar saga, where U has *Glasivellir*, while H has *ā Glasivöllum*. With H agrees the Nornagests pátr and in part of its cases as printed the Helga pátr Dórissonar. Otherwise the latter pátr, as also regularly the porsteins saga bœjarmagns and the Bósa saga, have the vowel *æ* instead of *a*, agreeing with our U. The *æ* is evidently due to confusion with words containing *glæsi-* and cannot be original. *Ā Glasivöllum* is a metrically correct half-verse alliterating with Guðmundr, while the long *æ* would be objectionable. There is also the evidence of the Eddic Glasir, Glasislundr, which as has often been recognized must stand in some relation to it and regularly has *a* instead of *æ*. That the Glasivellir is conceived of as a *herad* is again characteristic of the rationalizing tendency of the author of the U version. Ódáinsakr is mentioned in other Old Norse sources, but nowhere else in any connection with Guðmundr, and it is reasonable to suppose that the combination does not go back beyond the author of U, who was manifestly influenced by the similar ideas of prolonged life and immortality associated with the two names Glasivellir and Ódáinsakr. As a matter of fact, he does not himself take the responsibility for locating Ódáinsakr in the realm of Guðmundr, but ascribes it to the "heathen," which suggests that Ódáinsakr may have been to him an exotic conception (Elysium), as appears to be the case elsewhere in Old Norse literature. Various authors have tried to make

¹Or *af*; *ā* is doubtless the original.

out of Ódáinsakr an original Norse or Germanic conception,¹ but without credible results. Particularly does Olrik's attempt to read out of Saxo's corrupt form of the name a secondary variant² represent a futile overrefinement of philological method. Saxo confirms the conclusion that it was an exotic conception, not only by his complete misunderstanding of the name and its significance, but by expressly emphasizing the fact that it was exotic (*nostris ignotum populis*). The statement that after his death Guðmundr was deified justifies the inference that he was originally a deity, not a giant, which accords better with what we learn of him here and in other sources.³ If so, it is however strange that he is not known definitely among the Old Norse gods, nor does the name Guðmundr suggest a god's name. The natural explanation would be that it is a secondary name of some otherwise well-known god. His wisdom would point to Odin, the god of many aliases, and it is a question worthy of consideration whether Guðmundr à Glasivöllum is not a name under which Odin appeared in some adventure not recorded in its original form. That Glasir is according to the Snorra Edda the name of the grove extending before the gates of Valhöll would accord well enough with this identification. Such identification need not have been in the mind of the author of the U version of the Hervarar saga, who uses Odin later for other genealogies, but at the same time it is to be noted that Odin does appear again in the saga under another alias, namely, *Gestr enn blindi*, and with the same attribute of wisdom as Guðmundr and his son Höfundr. Höfundr does not occur elsewhere in Old Norse as a personal name, but is a perfectly transparent appellative, meaning in the first place "author" and secondly "judge," the last as applied to the son of Guðmundr in the Hervarar saga. It has already been fairly clearly recognized that Höfundr is only a manifestation of Guðmundr himself, so by Heinzel,⁴ who notes the statement of the porsteins saga boejarmagns that both father and son of Guðmundr besides their normal names were also called Guðmundr, as were all the kings of Glasivellir.⁵

¹ Cf. Neckel, *Walhall* (1913), pp. 66 f., and Bibliography on p. 124.

² *Kilderne til Saksens Oldhistorie*, II (1894), 158 f.

³ Already N. M. Petersen, *Haandbog i den gammel-nordiske Geografi* (1834), p. 239, suspected that Guðmundr may have been a god; Much appears to identify him with Baldr (*Zeits. f. deut. Alt.*, LXI [1924], 99).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 705.

⁵ See also Malone, *op. cit.*, p. 777.

The introduction into the saga of the well-known sons of Arngrímr also called for a genealogy of Arngrímr, which is accordingly carried back to a second Arngrímr, a giant, quite as Starkadr in later accounts was given an ancestor Starkadr, likewise a giant. The Arngrímr of U must here be correct as against the Hergrímr of H, Hergrímr being in both versions the name of his son. Of the consorts of Arngrímr I and Hergrímr, Áma is perhaps a typical giantess' name, occurring a number of times, as does also the corresponding masculine Ámr, in the Snorra Edda. In the case of Qgn álfasprengir the by-name is so unique that one is inclined to suspect that the bearer may have played some part in older legends, even in those treated in alliterative verse. It can hardly have any other meaning than "destroyer of elves," as noted by Jónsson¹ and Lind,² or less likely "pursuer of elves," and is masculine in form. There is a parallel in the *purasprengir* as by-name of a pórir mentioned in the *Landnátabók*.³

It is through his hostile relation with Hergrímr that Starkadr has been brought into the saga. This relation is attested by a verse of the Víkarsbálkr preserved in the Gautreks saga. It is in fact only the Gautreks saga that matches at all closely what is told of Starkadr in the Hervarar saga and that in such a way that the latter appears not to have borrowed from its prose statements, but on the contrary the Gautreks saga must have the statements in question from the Hervarar saga or at most from a common source with it. This is clear from the fact that these statements of the Gautreks saga are not entirely consistent with its other material upon Starkadr, to such a degree in fact that its author created for them a new Starkadr, grandfather of the usual one. But the giant Starkadr of the Hervarar saga is not the grandfather, but the familiar Starkaðr himself, become a giant in popular tradition.⁴ Already Saxo was familiar, possibly through his Icelandic source, with this tradition of Starkadr as a giant, for he speaks definitely of it. The by-name *áladrengr* (with or without capital *a*) applied to Starkadr in the Hervarar saga (U and H) and in the corresponding statement of the Gautreks saga is obscure enough

¹ *Aarbøger for nord. Oldk. og Hist.* (1907), p. 275.

² *Norsk-isl. personbinamn frå medeltiden* (1921), p. 3.

³ Compared already by Uhland (*Schriften*, VI, 104; original publication date, 1836).

⁴ That there was only one Starkadr was correctly emphasized by Svend Grundtvig, *Udsigt over den nordiske Oldtids heroiske Digtning* (1867), pp. 68 ff.

to be of considerable interest; it is quite possible that it goes rather far back. Already the author of the U version of the Hervarar saga tried an explanation of it, locating the hero at the time covered by the story near waterfalls called Álufossar (*bjó þá vid Álufossa*). This name has been identified with an Ulefoss in Telemarken, Norway,¹ but that such meaning could not have been contained in the original *áludrengr* was rightly emphasized by Bugge.² Even so recent an author as Olrik³ still finds in the by-name a mythological significance, making a water-sprite, a sort of Fossegrim, out of Starkadr, but that is utterly remote from what is known of this hero, and does not at all correspond with the use of *drengr*. Bugge's idea⁴ that the *álu-* is a mistake of some sort for *ála-* and that the by-name should be read *Áladrengr*,⁵ characterizing Starkaðr as a follower of Áli (enn freekni), would at least correspond with his relations to that person as told in some sources and would fit entirely the use of *drengr*. In so far it deserves the preference over any other explanation of the by-name that has yet been given. Still it is not absolutely convincing. That Eid by the upper fall is mentioned as the scene of the duel between Starkadr and Hergrímr is hardly of so much importance for geographical localization as considered by Munch and Peterson, who found Ulefoss in Telemarken associated with an Eid (Munch; Eidfoss further distant, Petersen) in close proximity. As a matter of fact it was a fairly common place-name, being merely an appellative that designated a place in a water-course made impassable by a fall or rapids, a place requiring a carry. If the author can be supposed to have been familiar with an Old Norse *ála*, still represented in Norwegian dialects by *åla*, meaning "a deep channel in a water-course," he could easily have evolved the names Álufossar and Eið in attempting to explain the by-name *áludrengr*, and a latter-day effort to locate them definitely would be to no purpose. Even if the author did have in mind the Norwegian locality identified by

¹ Munch, *Samlede Afhandlinger*, I, 74 (reprinted from 1836), and later in *Norske Folks Historie*, I, 1 (1852), 257; it goes back to N. M. Petersen, *Haandbog i den gammel-nordiske Geografi* (1834), p. 241.

² *Norrøne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold* (1873), p. 351.

³ *Dansk Helteidtgning*, II (1910), 180; this goes back to Uhland, *Mythus von Thor* (1836), pp. 176 f.

⁴ This goes back to Svend Grundtvig, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁵ *Áladrengr* does actually occur in one manuscript of the Gautreks saga, but the fact is probably of no significance.

Munch and Petersen, it would be only parallel with the other cases of euhemeristic geography of the author of U and have no further significance for the original meaning of *aludrengr*. That H lacks these place-names is apparently an omission of no great consequence, as it has here cut down the narrative to the bare essentials.

The abduction of Álfhildr of Álfheimar by Starkadr is peculiar to the Hervarar saga (and Gautreks saga) and may have no older legendary status. One finds here again in U the usual rationalizing tendency in that Álfheimar is located geographically correctly between the Gautelfr and the Raumelfr, though the reference to the special beauty of the people of Álfheimar is to be understood as applying to the elves, whose abode was also designated Álfheimar. That Álfr appealed to Thor in connection with the abduction of his daughter and that Thor killed Starkadr may in the same way have its origin in the Hervarar saga, though told also in the Gautreks saga, but there are other older sources representing Thor as having inflicted injury upon Starkadr,¹ so that this episode of the Hervarar saga must at least have been suggested by older traditions of opposition between Starkadr and Thor. Álfhildr and her family play no further part in the saga, except that the daughter of Álfhildr becomes the mother of the second and more important Arngrímr. The account of the family of Arngrímr is however suddenly interrupted by the introduction of Sigrlami, who is brought in as a son of Odin entirely without connection with the preceding genealogies. It is with Sigrlami that version R begins; it does not make him out to be the son of Odin and later introduces Arngrímr also without ancestors, so that one is at any rate tempted to believe that all of this genealogical refinement of U (followed by H) is secondary, and in this respect at least R may represent the older form of the saga. Still that is not an inevitable conclusion.

To defer further discussion of the matter of Arngrímr and his sons, Sigrlami belongs obviously to the story of the acquisition of the sword Tyrfingr. This story forms a mere introductory episode of the saga, in fact is again really lacking in R or rather abbreviated to a statement that the sword had been obtained from the dwarfs together with a description of its properties. Here one might be tempted to think of R as a secondary account which felt no call to give the introductory mat-

¹ Mentioned by Oirik, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

ter in detail, but wished to hasten to the substance of the main story, but such inference is not necessary either. R undoubtedly has the advantage in presenting but a single person, Sigrlami, while U (followed by H) ascribes the adventure to his son Svafrlami, Sigrlami being then here again merely of genealogical interest. The names Sigrlami and Svafrlami are not otherwise known in Old Norse, except as Qrvvar-Odds saga confirms the *Svafrlami* of U (and H), but are in their rarity of interest. *Sigrlami* is a very transparent word-compound and would apply to a person not victorious; the first element of *Svafrlami* occurs in only a few other names and is not certainly identified, even the length of the *a* being in doubt. A list of the sons of Odin in the "Brot um fornán átrúnað"¹ has a name *Óþinlami* which is on the face of it impossible and may contain some sort of corruption of our *Sigrlami* or *Svafrlami*. The function of this family line in the saga is twofold: first, genealogically to provide an ancestry for Eyfura, wife of Arngrímr; second, to carry the story of the fateful sword Tyrfingr. But the genealogical connection is hardly older than the Hervarar saga; i.e., other sources which know of Eyfura as wife of Arngrímr do not know of Sigrlami or Svafrlami as her father.² This tends to confirm the other evidence that the story of the gaining of the magic sword did not have an original organic connection with the events of the Hervarar saga before they were combined to form the saga. This connection is however present in R no less than in U. The story of the gaining of the sword is discussed especially by Sharovolski,³ who gives a greater list of parallels than had been assembled hitherto, but without new results. In fact, he is inclined to see the episode as made up of current Old Scandinavian ideas without further significance. The closest correspondence is still with the story of the swords made by the two dwarfs Alius and Olius in the "Ásmundar saga kappabana."⁴ The essential features are that dwarfs, working under compulsion, forge swords with remarkable properties, but in revenge for their ill treat-

¹ *Snorra Edda*, II, 636.

² Cf. Malone, *op. cit.*, p. 776.

³ *Skazanie o мецѣ Tyrfingѣ*, III (1906), 79 ff. This volume of Sharovolski on the Hervarar saga has failed to reach the general channels of Old Norse scholarship, but it is an admirable piece of work and by far the richest commentary on the Hervarar saga in existence.

⁴ Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, pp. 81 ff. The names Alius and Olius are Latinized forms of the familiar Old Norse names Áll and Óli and Detter's suggestion of Alius and Unus (p. xlviil) is hardly to the point.

ment invoke a curse upon them. That such a conception was very common in Old Norse is shown not only by actual cases of it, but, as Sharovolski points out, by still other cases in which it is emphasized that certain swords did not have curses (*dlog*) resting upon them. Detter¹ has probably on the whole correctly deduced an Old Norse story of a sword made by a dwarf or dwarfs with the curse of brother-slaying upon it, which has in the Ásmundar saga so affected the Hildebrand legend as to change its conflict between father and son to one between brothers.² This deduction seems, at any rate, illuminating for the Hervarar saga, where in the U version the sword is made by dwarfs, cursed by them, and becomes the instrument with which Heidrekr kills his brother Angantýr. In R there is no curse and Angantýr is not slain with the sword. Perhaps then the author of the U version inserted this familiar motif in the Hervarar saga, where the R version, which is then nearer the original, did not contain it. However R already has the sword made by dwarfs and has already interwoven it through the whole series of events, so that the addition of U would be but a slight one, and the alternative interpretation that U retains the essentials of the sword story more faithfully and is therefore nearer the original Hervarar saga is by no means excluded. That the three contemptible deeds (*nildingsverk*) to be perpetrated with the sword according to U (and H) are hard to identify has long been noted.³ With recognition of this difficulty not much is gained except a confirmation of the otherwise clearly apparent loose construction of the saga as a whole. It may be noted in passing that three is a typical number, and attention has already been called⁴ to the three *nildingsverk* prophesied by Thor for Starkaðr in the Gautreks saga. R is undoubtedly more consistent without this point, but such inconsistencies may conceivably have occurred in the original saga. As to the other properties of the sword, Sharovolski has clearly shown that they are severally associated with various other Old Norse swords, and the fact that U and R do not agree upon them is then of no great importance except as emphasizing the considerable difference of the two versions and the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. xlviii f.

² Schück, *Uppsala Universitets Årskrift* (1918), II, Progr. 3: 2, pp. 18 ff., has further developed the motif of the brother-conflict.

³ So by Heinzel, *op. cit.*, 426 f.

⁴ For example, by Grundtvig, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

relative unimportance of these sword-characteristics. That the sword required the death of a human being every time it was drawn from its sheath is the feature common to both U and R and accordingly to be inferred for the original saga, but even it seems to have been forgotten occasionally by the author. It is itself, as has long been noted, characteristic of Dáinsleifr, the sword of Hogni of the *Hjaðningavíg*,¹ and also, as pointed out by Sharovolski, of the sword of Bödvarr bjarki in the *Hrólfs saga kraka*.² These sword-properties may perhaps however be of value to us in judging the relationship of the two versions U and R. The property common to both of demanding a human life every time it was drawn from its sheath is in R associated with good qualities solely, i.e., it is itself to be understood as one of the things which go to make up the excellence of the weapon; it was to the owner's advantage that it should be as deadly as possible. The same is true of this property as applying to the other swords noted above. That it is then in U associated with things disadvantageous to the owner must be a secondary development, whether through a simple misunderstanding or a more humane attitude. This seems to me convincing evidence that the curse upon the sword does not belong originally to the *Hervarar saga*, but was one of the additional features worked in by the author of the U version. This would mean that Schück was entirely wrong in ascribing fundamental importance to this sword-story for the composition of the saga.

That the sword Tyrfingr does not originally belong to the several diverse episodes which have been combined in the *Hervarar saga* is clear enough, generally recognized and developed at length by Sharovolski. This is not however to be taken as meaning that it does not belong to the *Hervarar saga* from its original composition. As a matter of fact it is common to both versions and an important part of the mechanism for combining the otherwise unrelated materials. Its name Tyrfingr evidently has its origin in the *Hervarar saga* itself, as it is not mentioned elsewhere except in the related episode of the Qrvar-Odds saga, which may have taken it from the *Hervarar saga*. Even in the Qrvar-Odds saga it is identical with the personal name of one of the sons of Arngrfmr in the same episode, and one is inclined to suspect that it is in the *Hervarar saga* somehow borrowed from this person,

¹ *Snorra Edda*, I, 434.

² Ed. Jónsson, p. 60.

his name not appearing in the latter saga. Certainly the various etymologies that have been suggested¹ seem unnecessary, as most of the other Old Norse sword-names are fairly transparent in meaning and it is an entirely parallel formation (Tyrfingr from Torfi) to the Ylfingr from Ulfr.²

U contains a few other names not found in H, such as Heidr, Gylfi, pjazi, and Frfdr, but they appear to be of no special significance in this context and their omission in H need not detain us either.

If we may close here the discussion of the introductory part of the Hervarar saga, the conclusions that may safely be drawn from it alone are not wholly unimportant, even if not in all respects conclusive. Its evidence, subject to subsequent confirmation, strongly favors the claim of R to greater faithfulness to the original saga, while U seems to show the work of a learned hand, or a literary hand which aspires to appear learned. As to H, there is nothing to indicate that it does not go back in this part entirely to U;³ that is, the assumption of a third version from which it may have drawn is quite unnecessary. The sword Tyrfingr evidently does not go back beyond the composition of the original Hervarar saga and was there constructed out of current Old Norse sword-matter as a means (apart from the genealogical one) of binding together literarily a series of unrelated materials. That the author was not wholly consistent and careful in his use of this binding agent is characteristic enough of the manner of the *fornaldarsaga*-author to cause us no surprise and leave us in no doubt that the Hervarar saga as a literary product does not go back beyond the thirteenth century, probably not beyond the second half of it, when the *fornaldarsaga* as we know it seems to have been in style.

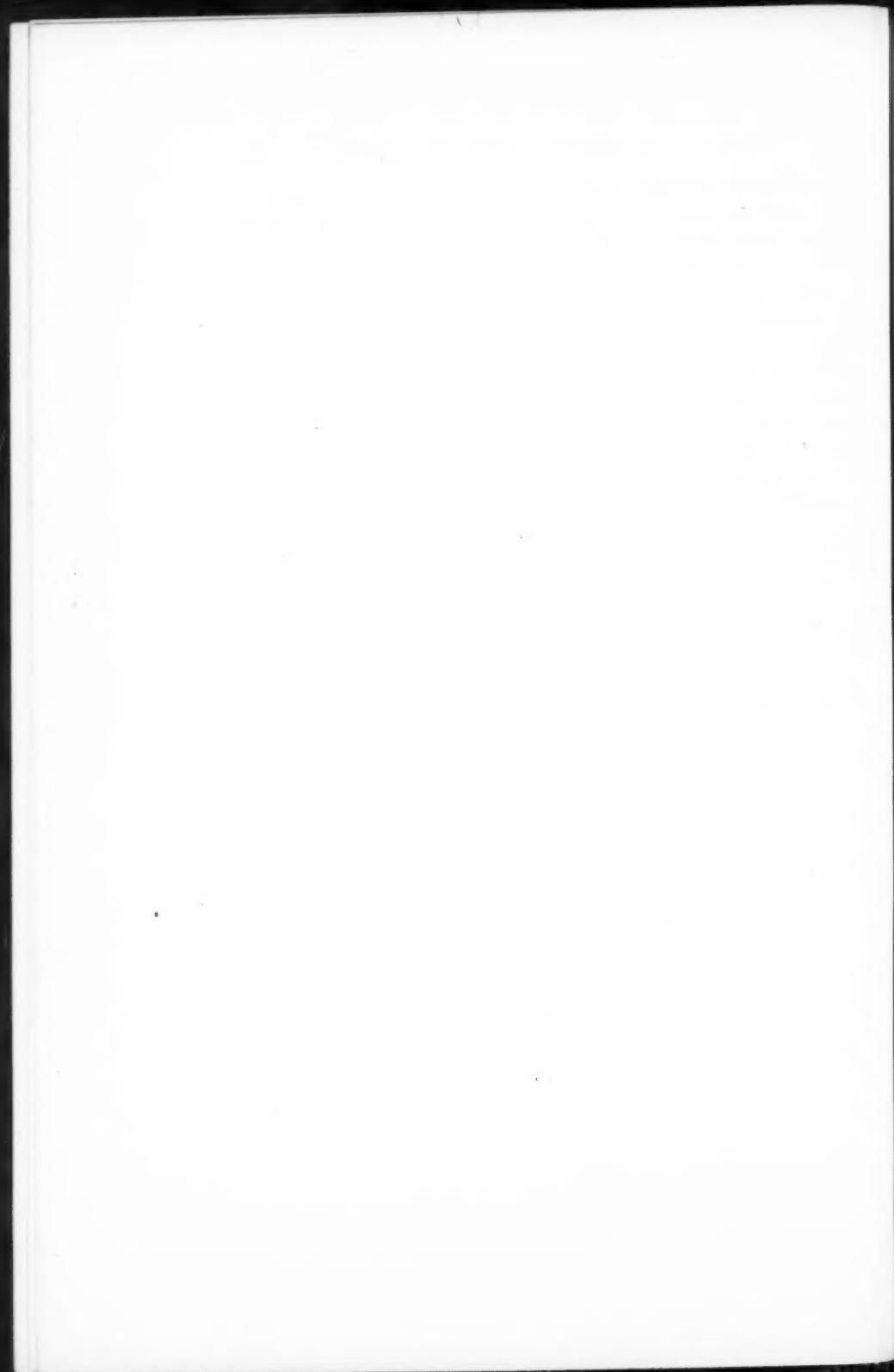
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¹ See Kahle, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, XIV (1903), 209; Much, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XLVI (1902), 321 f.

² Kahle, p. 210, where he refers further to the parallel formation of the German sword-names Mimungr, Miminc, Welsunc.

³ Except that it has later added some sword-properties from R.



AN UNNOTED ANALOGUE TO THE PARDONER'S TALE

In his treatise "Of Dragons" in *The History of Serpents*,¹ Edward Topsell has interpolated into his translation of Gesner an anecdote that must take its place among the analogues to Chaucer's *Tale of the Pardoner*. Since this story has been overlooked by investigators and contains interesting variations of the older narrative, I call attention to it here.

Although Topsell informs us that "as I haue heard, the whole story was printed,"² nevertheless he points to oral tradition as sanction for the anecdote at the outset: "I haue heard this credible storie from men of good worth and reputation, happening about some twelue yeeres agoe, vpon the Westerne-Seas, vpon the Coastes of England."³

An old fisherman and his two servants had laid their nets but at midnight had caught no fish. At that hour, however, a "fire-drake" (the meteor *Draco volans*) appeared where they waited. Frightened at this bad omen, the old man wished to lift the nets and depart, but was persuaded by his less superstitious servants to remain. The fire-drake then appeared a second time, circling the ship and hovering over the nets, so frightening the three of them on this occasion that they resolved not to tarry. The nets, however, stuck fast at one place and, remembering that a ship had been wrecked in that same spot the day before, they attacked them with grab-hooks. Freed, the nets brought up a chair of beaten gold.

Revived somewhat in spirits at first, new fears soon assailed the old fisherman

.... lest a storme should fall and lay both it and them, the second time in the bottome of the Sea.

For behold the Deuil entred into the harts of his two Servants & they conspired together to kill the old-man their Maister, that so betweene themselves they might be owners of that great rich chayre, the value whereof (as they conceiued) might make them Gentlemen, and maintaine them in some other Country all the dayes of their life.⁴

¹ Edward Topsell, *The History of Serpents* (London, 1608), pp. 153 ff. The analogue referred to does not occur in Gesner's *Historia animalium*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Accordingly, one dashed out the brains of the old man, the other cast him into the sea, and they sailed for the coast of France. At three or four o'clock of the following afternoon they espied a port of Brittany. Here a man-of-war hailed them to come and show what they were, but they refused and continued to make for land. Shots and a long-boat were sent after them, and in the ensuing struggle one of the servants was slain, the other mortally wounded. Before dying, however, the latter cast the chair overboard and related the story of the crime.

The resemblances to Chaucer's narrative are immediately apparent—the underlying motive of avarice, the number of characters concerned,¹ the deliberate plotting of two toward the murder of the other, and the deaths of the three.² Above all, the insistence on the warning character,³ Canby's *x* factor,⁴ in the shape of the *Draco volans*, recognized as such by the fisherman and, in fact, Topsell's excuse for interpolating the story, is noteworthy.

Important elements of the old theme, however, either are lacking or have become greatly changed. Thus the old fisherman must be assumed as honest, any deliberate intention on his part toward the murder of his servants being absent. Accordingly, the poison motif is excluded, and the outside agency introduced as responsible for the death of the two conspirators is a complete change in the narrative.

Such decidedly non-literary variations point effectively to the truth of Topsell's assertion that it is a "credible storie" and that undoubtedly long ago in the spacious days Fate staged a crime on the high seas patterned after the literary drama of a still older time.

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¹ One thousand and one in the Buddhist original; five hundred in the Tibetan version; six in Kipling's *The King's Ankus*; four in the Kashmire version and Coryat; three in the Persian, all the Arabian, the Italian *Miracle of St. Antonio*, the *Libro di Novelle*, Chaucer and Jack London versions; two in the *Cento Novelle Antiche* version; indefinite in the *Morlioni Novellae* version. Three, however, is the most common number. (References: *Originals and Analogues* ["Ch. Soc. Pub."], pp. 130-34, 418-30; G. L. Kittredge, "Coryat and the Pardoners' Tale," *Modern Language Notes*, XV, 385-87; Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book* (New York, 1897), p. 214; W. Wells, "A New Analogue to the *Pardoners' Tale*," *Modern Language Notes*, XL, 58-59, where I have discussed the Jack London parallel.)

² In the third Arabian version and Coryat there is no death by violence, and in the former the first character escapes death entirely. In all the other parallels, however, death comes to all concerned.

³ Gautama in the Buddhist original; Jesus in the Persian, first Arabian, and *Cento Novelle Antiche* versions; St. Anthony in the Italian *miracole*; the hermit in the *Libro di Novelle* version; the old man in Chaucer; and the White Cobra in Kipling.

⁴ H. S. Canby, "Some Comments on the Sources of Chaucer's *Pardoners' Tale*," *Modern Philology*, II, 477.

THE GENESIS AND GENERAL MEANING OF BLAKE'S *MILTON*

Blake's *Milton*, like all his long mystical poems, is full of obscurities, many of which have not yet been made clear. But the central thread of the narrative is reasonably distinct. Milton in heaven, about the year 1804, hears a bard's song dealing, in a very unintelligible way, with the attempt of evil to usurp power over good. Inspired by this song, which is of considerable length, the spirit of Milton returns to the world to teach men the true gospel about art and ethics, a gospel that does not wholly agree with what the world had supposed that he had taught in his writings while alive. To some extent at least he makes Blake his mouthpiece, or lets his Elijah mantle fall upon this fiery Elisha.

Aside from numerous debatable interpretations of detail, there are some decidedly vexed questions about the meaning of the principal themes. How is the long, confusing song of the bard to be unriddled? What is there in it which would make Milton feel compelled to revisit earth? What was Blake's attitude toward Milton the man, and toward the teachings, as he understood them, of Milton's published works, etc.?

As all of these problems connect with Blake's conception of Milton, it might be well to ask how much the living poet knew about the dead one at the time of composition, and from what sources Blake drew his ideas. *Milton* was apparently begun in 1804 and finished around 1808. From 1800 to 1803 Blake had been the protégé and close companion of William Hayley. Whatever his feelings toward Hayley may have become eventually, there must have been a time when relations were pleasant; and nothing would be more natural than that Blake should read books written or owned by his patron, or take suggestions from accounts of what Hayley had read.

Now at that time Hayley was posing as a Milton scholar. Under the inspiration derived from Cowper, he was at work on an edition of

Milton's poems,¹ and had written a life of the great poet, first published in complete form in 1796. It would be almost certain that during the years 1800-1803 or earlier Blake would have read Hayley's *Life of Milton*² and perhaps some related works. If he did, there would be certain results that we should consider.

In the first place, Hayley's biography is a strenuous polemic against Samuel Johnson's essay on Milton in the *Lives of the Poets*. It might arouse in any poetical reader a feeling that not only Milton, but poetry itself, needed to be defended from the misleading criticisms of Ursula Major and all his school.

The partisans of the powerful critic [Johnson], from a natural partiality to their departed master, affect to consider his malignity as existing only in the prejudices of those who endeavor to counteract his injustice.³

The attempt of Johnson to revive a base and sufficiently refuted imputation against the great author whose life he was writing, is one of the most extraordinary proofs that literature can exhibit how far the virulence of political hatred may pervert a very powerful mind.⁴

Johnson perpetually endeavors to represent him as unamiable, and instead of attributing any mistaken opinions that he might entertain to such sources as charity and reason conspire to suggest, imputes them to supposed vices in his mind, most foreign to his nature, and the very worst that an enemy could imagine.⁵

Again, it is possible that the central theme of Blake's poem was suggested by two passages in Hayley's *Life*. Remember that Blake, though a stormy and rebellious reader, was inclined to take such hints even from authors whose general teachings he rejected. Remember also that the central theme of Blake's poem is Milton's return from the other world to correct wrong conceptions of either what he did teach or what mankind thought he taught. The two passages are these:

a) I am persuaded his [Milton's] attachment to truth was as sincere and fervent as that of the honest Montaigne, who says: "I would come again with all my heart from the other world to give any one the lie, who should report me other than I was, though he did it to honor me."⁶

¹ He had contributed an abridgment of his *Life of Milton* to the edition of that author's poems by Boydell-Nichol (1794-97), and during his friendship with Blake was interested in work for another edition, eventually published in 1810. See *Memoirs of William Hayley, Esq. Written by Himself* (ed. John Johnson; London, 1823), II, 75, 117.

² Even if he did not read it, he would get some of its material from Hayley's conversation.

³ William Hayley, *Life of Milton* (Dublin ed.; printed by William Porter, 1797), p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

b) Milton, adorned with every graceful endowment, highly and holily accomplished as he was, appears, in the dark coloring of Johnson, a most unamiable being; but could he revisit earth in his mortal character, with a wish to retaliate, what a picture might be drawn, by that sublime and offended genius, of the great moralist, who has treated him with such excess of asperity.¹

Also in his Dedication to the *Life* Hayley utters words which could have suggested something to the susceptible and militant spirit of Blake:

His [Johnson's] lives of the poets will probably give birth, in this or the next century, to a work of literary retaliation. Whenever a poet arises with as large a portion of spleen towards the critical writers of past ages, as Johnson indulged towards the poets in his poetical biography, the literature of England will be enriched with the *Lives of the Critics*.²

In the third place, it is usually assumed that Blake's conception of Milton's teachings was based on a study of the English poems only, especially *Paradise Lost*. Now, aside from the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, which was not discovered until 1823, Hayley's *Life* gives fairly full accounts of nearly all Milton's prose works, as well as of the Latin poems. This is important, for these essays show Milton as the great iconoclast, as a writer whose teachings Blake might approve instead of condemning. Milton's attacks on the bishops had a great deal in common with Blake's attacks on the prelatrical supremacy of Urizen. Milton's pamphlets on divorce, if they had not quite reached Blake's doctrine of free love, had at least marched a long distance in that direction. And Blake would have come to feel that Milton, like himself, was one of the few men in England who had preached free love, and, like himself, one of the few who had *not* practiced it. In 1801 was published Todd's famous variorum edition of Milton's poems. In its account of Milton's life it quotes an attack by a seventeenth-century enemy on his divorce tracts:

If any plead conscience for the lawfulness of polygamy; (or for divorce for other causes than Christ and his Apostles mention; of which a wicked book is abroad and uncensured, though deserving to be burnt, whose author hath been so impudent as to set his name to it, and dedicate it to yourselves,) or for liberty to marry incestuously, will you grant a toleration for all this?³

If Blake read these lines he would hardly have got the impression that

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

² *Ibid.*, p. xv.

³ H. J. Todd, *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (London, 1801), I, liii.

Milton stood for conventional restrictive morality. And Todd's work was one that Milton enthusiasts would be likely to read, at least in parts. The following lines in Blake's *Milton* probably mean that, terrible as were Napoleon's campaigns of Austerlitz (1805) and Jena (1806), his rigid censorship of the press was worse:

The Wine-press on the Rhine groans loud, but all
its central beams
Act more terrific in the Central Cities of the Nations,
Where Human Thought is crush'd beneath the
iron hand of Power.¹

That last line is the quintessence of Milton's *Areopagitica*. If Blake had read that essay then, he would have perused it, not with criticism, but with enthusiastic approval. The general result of such reading would be to make Blake feel that Milton's original teaching had been mainly, though not wholly, right; *that the errors which he returned to earth to correct were mainly errors due to the misinterpretation of his teaching by later generations.*

Also, it is highly possible that Blake had read the prose essays in their complete form. Before Symmons' edition of them in 1806 many of them were hard to get; but Hayley must have had copies which he would lend. Besides, Symmons' edition came out while Blake was in the midst of *Milton*. Certainly after his acquaintance with Hayley he begins to use proper names found in Milton's *History of Britain*: Albion, Gwendolen, Ragan, Sabrina, Gonorill, Cordella, Boadicea, Estrild, etc. Also the following parallel might indicate a hint caught from the *Areopagitica*.

Milton's *Areopagitica*:

Behold now this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of war hath *not* there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleagured truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation.²

¹ *William Blake's Prophetic Writings* (ed. Sloss and Wallis; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926). *Milton*, XXV, 3-5. All quotations from Blake's poetry are from this edition.

² *The Prose Works of John Milton* (Bohn ed.), II, 91.

Blake's Milton:

In Bowlahoola [the City of Law] Los's Anvils stand & his Furnaces rage;
Thundering the Hammers beat & the Bellows blow loud.¹

Blake's Jerusalem:

While Los stood at his Anvil in wrath, the victim of their love
And hate, dividing the Space of Love with brazen Compasses
The blow of his Hammer is Justice, the swing of his Hammer Mercy;
The force of Los's Hammer is eternal Forgiveness.²

Similarly, another parallel may strengthen our belief that Blake took imaginative hints from Hayley's *Life of Milton*:

Blake's *Milton* (these lines symbolize the activity of creative inspiration):

Loud groans Thames beneath the iron Forge
Of Rintrah & Palamabron, of Theotorm & Bromion, to forge the instruments
Of Harvest, the Plow & Harrow, to pass over the Nations.
The Surrey hills glow like the clinkers of the furnace.³

Hayley's Life:

His [Milton's] mind, even in his boyish days, seems to have glowed, like the fancy and furnace of an alchymist, with incessant hope and preparation for astonishing productions.⁴

There is another book which should be considered in this discussion, namely, Hayley's *Life of Cowper*. It was begun after Cowper's death in 1800 and published in 1803. In other words, it was wholly composed during the period when its author was in constant association with Blake. More than that, we have Hayley's own statement that "the warm-hearted indefatigable Blake works daily by my side, on the intended decorations of our biography [of Cowper]."⁵ Hence, Blake must have known parts of the work, and may have read it all. In Hayley's *Life of Cowper* is included a letter⁶ of that poet which could easily have inspired part of Blake's poem, and which represents Milton as really gentle and lovable, in marked contrast to the Johnsonian attack. Cowper says:

¹ XXIII, 51-52 (text of Sloss and Wallis).

² LXXXVIII, 46-50.

³ IV, 11-14.

⁴ P. 21.

⁵ *Memoirs of William Hayley, Esq.*, II, 126.

⁶ This letter was written to Hayley, so nothing would be more natural than that he should mention it to Blake.

Oh you rogue, what would you give to have such a dream about Milton, as I had about a week since? I dreamed that, being in a house in the city, and with much company, looking towards the lower end of the room from the upper end of it, I descried a figure, which I immediately knew to be Milton's. He was very gravely, but very neatly attired in the fashion of his day,¹ and had a countenance which filled me with those feelings that an affectionate child has for a beloved father; such, for instance, as Tom has for you. My first thought was wonder, where he could have been concealed so many years: my second, a transport of joy to find him still alive: my third, another transport to find myself in his company; and my fourth, a resolution to accost him: I did so, and he received me with a complacence, in which I saw equal sweetness and dignity. I spoke of his *Paradise Lost*, as every man must who is worthy to speak of it at all, and told him a long story of the manner in which it affected me. . . . At last, recollecting his great age, (for I understood him to be two hundred years old) I feared that I might fatigue him by much talking. . . . His person, his features, his manners, were all so perfectly characteristic, that I am persuaded an apparition of him could not represent him more completely.²

If Blake's poem was conceived under these conditions, how should we interpret it? Let us take first the song of the bard, which inspired Milton to descend. In it Satan persuades Palamabron to lend him the "Harrow of the Almighty," which in his hands becomes an instrument of infinite mischief, whereas in Palamabron's it had been a great source of good. The Harrow, as is generally agreed, symbolizes some form of renovating intellectual leadership. Palamabron, usually the spirit of compassion, seems here to represent some noble, though not necessarily perfect, ideal of poetry. Mr. Damon identifies him with Blake himself,³ but this cannot be true throughout the whole poem, for Palamabron later expresses fear of Blake's revolutionary verse. If Blake felt, as we have suggested above, that not only Milton but all poetry had suffered at the hands of such eighteenth-century critics as Johnson, then he might naturally represent in Palamabron that nobler poetry of the seventeenth century, and such revivals of it as had occurred later, including Blake's own, and perhaps that of the

¹ Cf. Blake's *Milton*:

"And Milton, collecting all his fibres into impregnable strength,
Descended down a paved work of all kinds of precious stones
Out from the eastern sky, descending down into my Cottage
Garden, clothed in black: severe and silent he descended" (XXXIX, 5-8).

² William Hayley, *The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper* (New York ed., 1803), II, 63.

³ S. Foster Damon, *William Blake* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), p. 407.

compassionate Cowper. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Palamabron almost quotes two lines from the seventeenth-century dramatist Marston.¹ As for Satan, Blake in one passage at least definitely identifies him with eighteenth-century rationalism:

Will you suffer this Satan, this Body of Doubt that Seems but Is Not,
To occupy the very threshold of Eternal Life? If Bacon, Newton, Locke,
Deny a Conscience in Man & the Communion of Saints & Angels,
Contemning the Divine Vision & Fruition, Worshipping the Deus
Of the Heathen, The God of This World, & the Goddess Nature,
Mystery, Babylon the Great, The Druid Dragon & hidden Harlot,
Is it not that Signal of the Morning which was told us in the Beginning?²

Blake had shown his hostility to rationalism, and his preference for the passionate rather than the reasoning element in Milton, in his *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790-93?).³ If the fuller knowledge afterward acquired from Hayley gave him a mental impetus, if it led him to think of Milton, not as the exponent of reason in the seventeenth century but as the victim of reason in the eighteenth, his hostility would have begun against Johnson and then spread to that whole school of which Johnson was the last great exponent. It might even come to include Hayley, in whose wavering, neutral attitude a great deal of the eighteenth century still survived. So far, then, the song of the bard would mean that rationalism in the eighteenth century had seized the intellectual leadership from earlier and better hands, with disastrous results for all forms of intellectual life, and that the world needed Milton's spirit as a redeemer. The death of Thulloh and the part of Rintrah (the spirit of wrath—usually, but not always, of righteous indignation) might be explained as allusions to literary controversies. In Hayley's *Life of Milton*, and, quoted from that, in Todd's variorum edition of 1801, occurs a passage that would suggest Rintrah to any reader:

Johnson professed, in one of his letters, to love a good hater; and, in the Latin correspondence of Milton, there are words that imply a similarity of sentiment; they both thought there might be a sanctified bitterness, to use an expression of Milton, towards political and religious opponents.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

² *Jerusalem*, XCIII, 19-26.

³ Sloss and Wallis, I, 14.

⁴ Todd, *Poetical Works of Milton*, I, cl. Todd himself in his editorial work speaks kindly of both Hayley and Johnson.

Then the female character Leutha attempts to defend Satan against the charge of misusing the "Harrow," by taking the blame on herself. There is general agreement that Leutha everywhere in Blake represents physical love. Now *Paradise Lost* had represented such love as beautiful in Eden before the Fall, and the coarsest and most degrading passion immediately after it—"Of their mutual guilt the seal." Leutha, Milton would have said, is good or bad, not according to mere conventions of marriage, but according to the mental attitude that accompanied her. Blake, if he understood Milton here, must have felt some sympathy with him.¹ Blake would have had some reason for feeling that intellectual life from 1660 to 1800 had been checked by undesirable conditions regarding sex love. Under the Stuarts, "Leutha" had appeared in broad daylight but as degrading passion, not uplifting affection. Under the conventional House of Hanover "Leutha" hid, and made superficial compromises with "Elynitria" (the spirit of conventional purity), while passion, debased and hypocritical, undermined the national life.² The details of Leutha's speech, and their sequence, would fit in reasonably well with such an interpretation.

So ends the song of the bard; and, inspired by it, Milton comes back to the world of the living. Into all the details of his journey I have no wish to go. Some of them are inexplicable; most of them have been well explained in Professor Damon's commentary. But I do wish to emphasize the point that Milton in heaven does not recant nearly as much of his previous teachings as has been asserted.³ Blake did not indorse everything in the writings of his great predecessor; but he did indorse much of it. I question whether "Milton's

¹ For a similar conception of Blake's attitude see Denis Saurat, *Blake and Milton* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie de L'Université, 1920), pp. 31, 45, 50, 51. Professor Damon finds more sharp disagreement here between Blake and Milton (*William Blake*, p. 175). But the criticism of the Fall which he quotes from Blake was uttered seventeen years after the supposed completion of the *Milton*, and it may have meant a mere sputtering or desire to mystify Crabb Robinson rather than a serious opinion.

² If Leutha's speech contained a hit at Hayley's morals, that would simply be included in the broader interpretation.

³ See (a) P. Berger, *William Blake, Poet and Mystic* (Conner's trans.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1915), p. 363: "He promises to abandon the 'daughters of memory' and follow the 'daughters of inspiration'"; (b) Sloss and Wallis, I, 343; (c) S. F. Damon, *William Blake*, pp. 172-75. Professor Damon very judiciously qualifies these statements; see p. 404: "Shakespeare and Milton were Blake's idols."

Shadow," which seems to be kept distinct from Milton, and obviously inferior, does not represent what literary historians would call "the Milton tradition," the degraded misinterpretation of his thoughts by readers and critics who could not rise to his level.¹

Blake certainly realized that great systems of thought were so misinterpreted; for Rintrah and Palamabron say to Los: "They perverted Swedenborg's Visions in Beulah & in Ulro."² The Preface to *Milton* begins with an attack on "the Stolen and *Perverted Writings of Homer & Ovid, of Plato & Cicero, which all Men ought to contemn.*" Perhaps this statement had been partly inspired by Hayley's *Life of Cowper*. In the letters there included, the dead poet, discussing his own translation of Homer, had animadverted several times on the un-Homeric character of other renderings, especially Pope's.³ Still stronger condemnation of Pope's *Homer* can be found in letters of Cowper which Hayley did not publish, but which he might have read and possibly have shown to Blake.⁴

In the light of these facts, we might easily interpret the following passage as saying that *Paradise Lost* had been expounded as orthodoxy and the conventional code when Milton had not meant that:

Mild was the voice, but more distinct than any earthly
 That Milton's Shadow⁵ heard; & condensing all his Fibres
 Into a strength impregnable of majesty & beauty infinite,
 I saw he [the Shadow] was the Covering Cherub, & within him Satan
 And Rahab, in an outside which is fallacious, within
 Beyond the outline of Identity, in the Selfhood deadly
 Descending down into my Garden, a Human Wonder of God,

¹ Sloss and Wallis (II, 224) say: "Blake himself is Milton's 'Shadow' the manifestation in life of the ethical principle of self-annihilation." But this seems impossible. Blake consistently sees the "shadow" as external to himself and as identified with everything he hated.

² *Milton*, XX, 46.

³ *Life of Cowper*, I, 97, 163, 218; II, 7, 100, 102.

⁴ December 15, 1785, Cowper wrote to Lady Hesketh, many of whose letters Hayley printed, though not this one: "There is hardly anything in the world so unlike another, as Pope's version of Homer to the original. . . . Assure yourself . . . that Pope never entered into the spirit of Homer, that he never translated him,—I had almost said, did not understand him" (Thomas Wright, *The Correspondence of William Cowper* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904], II, 409–10).

⁵ We find a similar distinction in *Jerusalem*, XXXI, 40–41, where Jerusalem, who is spiritual liberty, has as her shadow Vala, who is almost her opposite:

"And he beheld Jerusalem in Westminster & Marybone
 Among the ruins of the Temple; and Vala, who is her Shadow."

Reaching from heaven to earth, a Cloud & Human Form,¹
 I beheld Milton with astonishment, & in him² beheld
 The Monstrous Churches of Beulah, the Gods of Ulro dark,
 Twelve monstrous dishumaniz'd terrors, Synagogues of Satan.
 All these are seen in Milton's Shadow, who is the Covering Cherub,
 The Spectre of Albion . . . in the Newtonian voids.³

Later the genuine Milton says:

Obey thou the Words of the Inspired Man
 The Negation is the Spectre, the Reasoning Power in Man
 This is a false Body, an Incrustation over my Immortal
 Spirit, a Selfhood⁴ which must be put off & annihilated alway.
 To cleanse the Face of my Spirit by Self-examination,⁵
 To bathe in the waters of Life, to wash off the Not Human,
 I come in Self-annihilation⁶ & the grandeur of Inspiration
 To cast off Bacon, Locke, & Newton from Albion's covering.⁷

Near the end of the poem the "Virgin Oolon" tells the real Milton that there is something about him which the feminine portion in her cannot bear, which makes her fly for escape into the realm of Ulro, or error. Suiting the action to the word,

. . . she divided & fled into the depths
 Of Milton's Shadow,⁸

thereby, apparently, identifying "Milton's Shadow" with the "visions of Ulro," the mistaken and distorted conceptions of truth. First she says to the real Milton "Are we Contraries, O Milton, Thou & I?"⁹ then flees to Milton's shadow as to an asylum, "As a Dove upon the stormy Sea."

Admittedly these passages have their ambiguities, but they are certainly susceptible of the interpretation we have given them. And

¹ A shadow of misinterpretation and a real teacher behind it.

² "In him" means connected with Milton, resulting from him, not necessarily the poet's real teaching.

³ XXXVII, 5-46.

⁴ "Selfhood" does not probably mean any attitude of Milton when writing *Paradise Lost*. It more probably means a false interpretation favorable to worldlings in power. Cf. *Jerusalem*, XXXIII, 17-18:

"So spoke the Spectre to Albion: he is the Great Selfhood
 Satan, Worship'd as God by the Mighty Ones of the Earth."

⁵ This perhaps means: "To give my own interpretation of my own poem."

⁶ Cf. Blake's own words in beginning *Jerusalem*, V, 22: "Annihilate the Selfhood in me! be thou all my life." Blake certainly was not recanting his previous teaching.

⁷ XLII, 29—XLIII, 5.

⁸ XLIV, 5-6.

⁹ XLIII, 35.

there are other passages that are hardly susceptible of a different interpretation.¹

Many of the virtues ascribed to the poetical character Milton were ones that the real man Milton had; and Blake possessed means of learning that he had them. In the poem the heavenly Milton says:

What do I here

With the daughters of memory, & not with the daughters of inspiration?²

Later he declares that he comes "To cast off the rotten rags of Memory by Inspiration."³ And the seventeenth-century Milton, in his *Reason of Church Government*, in a passage quoted in Hayley's *Life*,⁴ had spoken of his ideal poetry as "nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her siren daughters; but by devout prayer to that eternal spirit." Blake's Preface to *Milton* declares that the old Hebrew prophets, rather than the Greeks, represent the noblest inspired poetry; and Milton, in the passage above, quoted in Hayley's *Life*,⁵ says:

Or, if occasion shall lead, to imitate those magnific odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets, beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God.

Blake's heavenly Milton says:

Such are the laws of Eternity, that each shall mutually
Annihilate himself for others' good, as I for thee.⁶

And Hayley, in his *Life*, had said of the real poet: "In the polemical writings of Milton there is a merit to which few polemics can pretend; they were the pure dictates of conscience, and produced by the

¹ For example, in *Milton* (XIX, 16-17) occurs the passage:

"On whose mild banks dwell those who Milton drove
Down into Ulro."

Even such an acute critic as Professor Damon has taken the "who" here as an old-fashioned accusative (*William Blake*, p. 417). But that it is a nominative is clearly shown by a passage about the same people fifteen lines below:

"And they lamented that *they* had in wrath & fury & fire
Driven *Milton* into the Ulro."

Milton did not lead the people of Olooloo into error, they drove him into error; and as they apparently did this in Blake's day, they could hardly have done it except by misunderstanding or perverting his teaching.

² XII, 28-29.

³ XLIII, 4.

⁴ P. 75.

⁵ P. 73.

⁶ XXXIX, 35-36.

sacrifice of his favorite pursuits."¹ Blake tells us that his hero descends to

. . . set free
Orc from his Chain of Jealousy.²

and *Paradise Lost* had included among the joys of Eden that

. . . in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reigned, nor jealousy
Was understood, the injured lover's hell.³

The Milton of Blake says to the Blakean Satan:

Thy purpose & the purpose of thy Priests & of thy Churches
Is to impress on men the fear of death, to teach
Trembling & fear, terror, constriction, abject selfishness.
Mine is to teach Men to despise death & to go on
In fearless majesty, annihilating Self, laughing to scorn
Thy Laws & terrors, shaking down thy Synagogues as webs.
I come to discover before Heav'n & Hell the Self righteousnes
In all its Hypocritic turpitude.⁴

This is exactly the attitude that Milton had taken toward the prelates in his prose attacks on them. He had even, like Blake, characterized them as the priests of Satan, and in one pamphlet had said: "Lucifer, before Adam, was the first prelate angel."⁵ Some hints of this Blake could have got from Hayley's conversation or from his *Life of Milton*. All of it he could have found in copies of Milton's prose works probably owned by Hayley; or after 1806 he could have found it in Symmons' edition of the prose.

It is reasonable, then, to consider Blake's poem as largely an effort to save a great predecessor from stupid misinterpretation and malignant libel.⁶ This was to be done less for the sake of either poet

¹ P. 24.

² XVIII, 60-61.

³ Book V, 448-50.

⁴ XXXIX, 37-44.

⁵ *Reason of Church Government*, in *Prose Works* (Bohn ed.), II, 450.

⁶ Sloss and Wallis (I, 343) find a hopeless inconsistency in the fact that Milton first comes to "set free Orc from the Chain of Jealousy" and later, instead, "to annihilate his own 'self-hood,' that is, to give example of the Divine law of brotherhood and self-sacrifice." But there is no need of assuming an inconsistency. If Milton comes to replace a wrong interpretation of his works by a right one, all is consistent. His pamphlets on divorce would, in Blake's opinion, at least, break the chain of jealousy. In his *Paradise Regained* the ambitious selfhood, the selfish will to power, is precisely the temptation which Christ overcomes. I need hardly point out that our conclusions, though they disagree with those of Sloss and Wallis, are in marked harmony with those of Saurat in his *Blake and Milton*.

involved than for the sake of humanity. And if we could put ourselves in Blake's place and assume (something not proved but highly probable) that he had read certain easily accessible books, then we would understand his temper as he wrote. Johnson was by no means the only enemy pointed out to him. In the Dedication¹ of his *Life of Milton* Hayley had said:

Milton, a poet of the most powerful, and, perhaps, the most independent mind that was ever given to a mere mortal, insulted with the appellation of a time-server; and by whom? by Warburton, whose writings and whose fortune—but I will not copy the contemptuous prelate in his favorite exercise of reviling the literary characters, whose opinions were different from his own; his habit of indulging a contemptuous and dogmatical spirit, etc.

No words could have been used which would have made Milton's critics seem to Blake more a manifestation of his despotic, dogmatic "primeval priest," Urizen. And Hayley was not the only scholar who could have increased this feeling in Blake. In his edition of Milton's *Prose Works* (1806) Symmons said:

We have seen a new Salmasius, unimpelled by those motives which actuated the hirelings of Charles, revive in Johnson; and have beheld the virtuous and the amiable, the firm and the consistent Milton, who appears to have acted, from the opening to the close of his life,—

"As ever in his great Taskmaster's eye,"
exhibited in the disguise of a morose and a malevolent being a wretch who, from pride, austerity and prudence was at once a rebel, a tyrant, and a sycophant.²

Later on Symmons says that Milton's conduct

continued, as we have the strongest reasons to believe, equally pure and exemplary throughout the subsequent stages of his life: but no sooner did he tread the threshold of manhood, and begin to offend by the exhibition of novel opinions and strong censures, than he became the object of that enmity which, pursuing him with detraction to his grave, has in later times disturbed his ashes and endeavored to deform his memory.³

This passage was printed while Blake was composing *Milton*. If he

¹ P. xvii.

² *The Prose Works of John Milton* (London, printed by T. Bensley), VII, 39. The date on the title-page of the Yale copy is 1806; but as Vol. VII contains a Preface to a second edition, dated 1809, there has evidently been some juggling by printers. The first edition did appear in 1806.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

read it, he would get a picture of a maligned rebel for conscience' sake, much like himself and after his own heart. If Blake read the sketch of Milton's life prefixed to Todd's edition, he would have found this sentence, not anti-Johnsonian, but placating in another way: "Dr. Newton considers him [Milton] as a Quietist, full of the interior of religion, though he so little regarded the exterior."¹ The suggestion, however inaccurate, that Milton was a seventeenth-century mystic would have been a telling shot. Even if such an influence did not occur, even if Milton seemed a poet perhaps a bit too rational, not quite mystical enough, he appeared none the less as a great, redeeming figure, well worth calling back, like Arthur from Avalon, in the hour of England's need.

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¹*Poetical Works of Milton*, I, cliv.

KOTZEBUE EN ESPAÑA

APUNTES BIBLIOGRÁFICOS E HISTÓRICOS

Sigan en nuestra serie los apuntes sobre Kotzebue,¹ pues es el autor alemán que ha gozado de mayor popularidad en las primeras décadas del siglo XIX en España tanto como en otras partes de Europa² y aun en el mundo entero como lo atestigua Adalbert von Chamisso en su diario del viaje alrededor del mundo por los años 1815-18.³

Notaremos cronológicamente la fortuna española del famoso dramatista como nos la demostró la casualidad en traducciones de sus obras, representaciones de sus dramas y en discusiones o referencias esparcidas por los periódicos de los tres primeros cuartos del siglo.⁴ Completamos estos datos hasta 1818 con otros sacados de una obra de Don Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, titulada *Isidoro Maiquez y el Teatro de su Tiempo*.⁵

1800—(T/4201).⁶ “La Reconciliación o Los dos Hermanos,” en cinco actos por el Poeta Kotzcue (sic). Traducida por D. Vicente Rodríguez de Avellano. Madrid, En la Oficina de D. Benito García y Compañía. Año de 1800.”

Este drama forma parte del tomo II del “Teatro Nuevo Español,” colección de seis tomos de la cual da detalles el maestro Arturo Farinelli.⁸

¹ Acaban de publicarse unos sobre “E. T. A. Hoffmann en España” en el tomo Iº del *Homenaje a Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín*, Madrid, 1927.

² Sobre Kotzebue en Inglaterra véase Walter Sellier *Kotzebue in England*. Tesis del doctorado, Leipzig, 1901.

³ *Werke* (Meyers Klassiker Ausgaben) (Leipzig, s.a.), III, 43-44.

⁴ Consultamos principalmente las riquezas de la Biblioteca Nacional, de Madrid, cuyos directores y funcionarios nos las proporcionaron con suma cortesía; nos servimos también de la Biblioteca del Ateneo de Madrid donde se trabaja con tanta comodidad como saben bien sus afortunados concurrentes.

⁵ Es el tercer tomo de sus *Estudios sobre la Historia del Arte escénico en España*, Madrid, 1902. Siempre nos referimos a esta obra al citar a “Cotarelo.” Debemos la noticia de este tomito al distinguido hispanista, profesor G. T. Northup, de la Universidad de Chicago, al que quedamos muy agradecidos.

⁶ Para mejor identificación damos en paréntesis la signatura que llevan los diversos tomos en la Bibl. Nac.

⁷ Se llama en alemán *Die Versöhnung oder der Bruderswist*, 1798.

⁸ Véase su estudio “Deutschland und die deutsche Litteratur im Lichte der spanischen Kritik in der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts,” “Kochs Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte,” N.F., VIII (1895), 401.

¿1800?—De la misma época deben ser otras dos traducciones, sin año, de la misma obra:

1. (T/7070). “*La Reconciliación o Los dos Hermanos*. Drama en cinco actos. Su autor KOTZ-BÜE (sic), traducido del alemán al francés y del francés al castellano por D.F.N. de R.¹ Con Licencia. Barcelona por Juan Francisco Pifferer, Impresor de S.M.”

Esta edición tiene forma de folleto, impreso en papel ya muy amarillento y envejecido.

2. (T/12,250) lleva el mismo título salvo que se publicó en “Madrid, En la Imprenta de la Administración del Real Arbitrio de Beneficencia.” Está bien encuadrada.

Las dos ediciones coinciden en lo demás. Citamos de la “Advertencia” de la segunda: “El éxito feliz que han tenido en el teatro alemán los dos dramas de Kotz-büe titulados *Los dos Hermanos desunidos* el uno y el otro *La Misantería*; la variedad de dictámenes en orden a cual de los dos merece la preferencia; las dulces lágrimas que han derramado todas las naciones que los han visto representar; y el aprecio que la española ha hecho de la *Misantería*, me han animado a darle traducidos *Los dos Hermanos*; debiendo prevenir que de su mérito original no se debe juzgar por mi traducción hecha en solos tres días como saben todos mis amigos. ...”

Al comparar el texto de esta traducción con el original alemán se ve que como de costumbre se ha “arreglado” mucho: no sólo se suprimió lo que era demasiado difícil y complicado en la dicción como lo son los juegos de palabra de ordinario intraducibles; se suprimió también casi todo lo que se refería a condiciones locales y particulares de la sociedad alemana. Ignoramos si faltaban ya estos pormenores en la traducción francesa que sirvió de base.

A pesar de estas simplificaciones no hay que negar que a la conclusión del drama el espectador español llevaba consigo una impresión profunda y en acuerdo con lo que Kotzebue intentaba. Lo grande del efecto que produjeron estos dramas en el público se ve por la petición del cómico Mariano Querol en el año 1811 al Gobierno de la Regencia en Cádiz, donde se lee:

“... muchos de los habitantes de este noble pueblo son testigos de haber visto la primera representación de la comedia titulada *Misantería y Arre-*

¹ Será Don Fernando Nicolás de Rebollada.

pentimiento, por lo que se vieron muchos matrimonios que estaban separados por bagatelas, reunidos otra vez y estrecharse en los lazos de himeneo. Por representación de la nombrada *La Reconciliación de los dos Hermanos* (*sic*) diversas familias enemistadas volverse a pacificar, olvidando las discordias domésticas que habían causado su enemistad.¹

1800—(T/7494). “*Misantrópia y Arrepentimiento.*² Drama en tres actos. Arreglado a nuestro teatro. En Madrid, En la Imprenta de Sancha, Año de 1800.”

Tiene en la portada un grabado representando el cuadro final del drama. Lleva además una dedicación al “Señor Antonio Pinto,” actor principal, que mandó hacer la traducción, y un prólogo; la dedicación está firmada “Dionisio Solís.”³

En su Prólogo se lee de otro caso del efecto popular de esta comedia; dice allí: “... Una de las mujeres que asistió a la representación de *Carlos y Eulalia*,⁴ al decir ésta ‘y mis hijos,’ exclamó llorando ‘¡Ay, yo también soy madre, y hay nueve meses que no los veo!’ ... Hombre sensible, célebre Kotz-bue, ve aquí la recompensa de tu mérito, las lágrimas de una madre sencilla y buena. ...”

Idem—(T/19,881). Es otra edición del mismo drama; tiene el mismo título, solamente le faltan la buena encuadernación y el grabado de la portada.

1801—(T/15,033). Es reimpresión del drama anterior, v.g. (T/7494), en forma de *hoja suelta*, pues no lleva sino el título y los “personajes” en la parte superior de la página exterior; en la parte inferior empieza el texto del acto primero. Al fin del folleto se lee “En Valencia 1801.” Faltan las páginas 3 y 4; 5 y 6.

Es de suponer que siempre se representaba esta versión en los teatros españoles, por lo menos durante las primeras décadas del siglo. Según Hartzenbusch⁵ se representaba hacia 1839 una versión en cinco actos recomendada por el mismo Solís. No tendrá nada que ver con otra en cinco actos que se publicó poco después de la de Solís, y de la que nos ocuparemos en seguida.

¹ Véase Farinelli, *op. cit.*, pág. 402, nota 3. Coincide con esto lo que dice Kotzebue mismo en el tomo VII*, pág. 53, de su *Theater von August Kotzebue. Rechtmäßige Original Ausfage*, Leipzig und Wien, 1840–41. 20 tomos (T/2524–43).

² Se llama en alemán *Menschenhass und Reue*, 1787–89.

³ A esta traducción y su traductor se refiere Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch en la *Revista de Madrid* (de 1839; 2a serie), Iº, 488–97 (1/69, 245).

⁴ Así se llaman los personajes principales del drama.

⁵ En la *Revista de Madrid*, *loc. cit.*

1800—(T/10,470). “*Misantería y Arrepentimiento*. Drama en cinco actos, en prosa, del Teatro alemán de KOTZ-BÜE (*sic!*). Refundido por la ciudadana Molé, actriz del Teatro francés, y traducido fielmente por D.A.G.A. Madrid, por D. Fermín Villalpando, Año 1800.”¹

Hay una “Advertencia del traductor” de diez páginas y la traducción del prefacio de la actriz Molé, de seis páginas. Hartzenbusch dice de ésta:

En el mismo año de 1800 un D.A.G.A., que no sabemos si fué Don Agustín García Arrieta, dió a luz una nueva traducción del mismo drama, hecha en prosa, a la cual puso por encabezamiento un prólogo, donde decía que la traducción de Solís era defectuosa por estar en verso, por haber puesto en tres actos una composición cuya estructura exigía la división en cinco en el original,² y sobre todo por no haber seguido aquél con la fidelidad debida. El buen señor de las iniciales, para enseñar a Solís como debían trasladarse al castellano las obras dramáticas extranjeras copia el diálogo francés sin soltura, sin gracia, sin comprenderlo a veces, o sin acertar a expresarlo dramáticamente; siendo lo más singular que escribiendo en prosa se queda en ciertos pasajes inferior en sencillez, naturalidad, concisión y vehemencia al que escribía con el estorbo de la versificación.³

Aunque D.A.G.A. haya cometido muchas y graves faltas en la traducción de la obra francesa, no podemos negar que tiene razón en su teoría de que no debiera hablar en verso el misántropo “porque su carácter es hablar muy poco, y esto sentencioso y lleno de acrimonia.”⁴ Y no pregunta sin razón:

“Hasta cuándo ha de durar entre nosotros el prurito y ciega rutina de traducir y componer las comedias en verso cuando las demás naciones cultas escriben ya y representan en prosa casi todas las mejores suyas? ... Si la comedia es un cuadro fiel de la vida privada de los hombres, si su objeto es copiar al natural sus acontecimientos serios, funestos, alegres o ridículos, sus pasiones, sus caprichos, sus modos de tratar y conversar unos con otros sobre los varios negocios e intereses de la vida, ¿qué estilo es más natural y adecuado para pintar y expresar al vivo todo esto en prosa? Porque al fin en ésta conversan siempre los hombres, y no en verso; ...”⁵

¹ El drama francés lleva el título *Misanthropie et Repentir*. París An 7 (1798) (T/11,599). Es la traducción de Bursay arreglada “a l’usage de la scène française par la citoyenne.”

² Es de notar que los cinco actos del drama francés, y por consiguiente del español, no coinciden con los del original alemán lo que presume D.A.G.A. No podemos entrar aquí en una discusión de los pormenores.

³ En la *Revista de Madrid*, loc. cit.

⁴ En la “Advertencia” de su traducción (T/10,470)

⁵ *Ibid.*

Citamos estas observaciones tan extensivamente por su valor histórico, pues bien sabemos ahora cuáles han sido los adelantos durante el siglo XIX tocante al sentido real de la vida y de las cosas. El soberano establecimiento actual de la prosa es una fase de ese *Wirklichkeitssinn* de la época moderna, y el "buen señor de las iniciales" queda vindicado en cuanto a esto.

Sigamos en nuestro repaso cronológico:

Idem—Según Hartzenbusch¹ "se estrenó la comedia *Misanthropía y Arrepentimiento* en el Coliseo de la Cruz el 30 de enero y tuvo 18 representaciones." Sí, se estrenó en aquel día y año,² pero no indica Cotarelo cuantas representaciones se daban; la pieza que sigue en su lista está fechada el 17 de febrero, lo que permite suponer que se representaba *M. y A.* varias veces en seguida. La famosa actriz Rita Luna hizo el papel de la arrepentida Eulalia y el primer barba Antonio Pinto el del misántropo Carlos.

Idem—Al talento de estos actores se deberá cierta parte de la popularidad no sólo de la *M. y A.*, sino también de la *Reconciliación o Los dos Hermanos*, drama de Kotzebue que ellos estrenaron en el teatro de la Cruz el 1º de octubre de 1800.³

Sigamos en nuestro repaso cronológico:

1800?—(T/7078). "La *Misanropía desvanecida*. Drama en un acto. Escrito en alemán por Augusto Kotzebue (*sic*) en continuación al drama intitulado *La Misanropía y Arrepentimiento* del mismo autor. Con Licencia. Barcelona, por Juan Francisco Pifferer, Impresor de S.M."⁴

Debe de ser de esta época. En su apariencia se asemeja mucho a *La Reconciliación o Los dos Hermanos*, obra ya mencionada (T/7070), publicada por el mismo Pifferer, y es de notar que la traducción española esta vez corresponde en altísimo grado al texto alemán, con la excepción muy natural de llamar "Félix" al muchacho "Wilhelm." Los chistes y dichos graciosos de Röschen y Konrad se han reproducido con mucho acierto.

1801—19 de enero *Misanropía y Arrepentimiento* en el Teatro de la Cruz.⁵

¹ En la *Revista de Madrid* de 1839 ya citada

² Cotarelo, pág. 619

³ *Ibid.*, pág. 623.

⁴ En alemán se llama "*Die edle Lage. Schauspiel in einem Aufzuge. Fortsetzung von Menschenhass und Reue.*" 1792

⁵ Cotarelo, pág. 624.

1802—8 de octubre *Reconciliación* en el Teatro de la Cruz.¹

Idem—26 de octubre *Misantería* en el Teatro de la Cruz.²

1803—27 de enero *Reconciliación* en el Teatro de la Cruz.³

1804—(Hidalgo, II, 386).⁴ “*El Año más memorable de mi vida* por Augusto de Kotzcue (*sic*), traducido del alemán al francés y de éste al castellano, por D.R.T., alférez de navío de la real armada. Madrid 1804,⁵ imprenta de A. Espinosa, ... dos tomos en 8º, con el retrato de Kotzcue.”

Idem—4 de diciembre *Misantería y Arrepentimiento* en el Teatro de la Cruz.⁶

1805—13 de junio *Reconciliación* en el Teatro de la Cruz.⁷

1806—(5/787). Que era moneda corriente en aquella época el nombre de Kotzebue y la fortuna teatral de sus dramas se ve por los renglones siguientes sacados de una “Sátira sobre las Modas literarias” en el *Revisor*:⁸

De Schiller y Kotzcue el zueco lúgubre,
se apoderó del crédito dramático; ...

1807—(4/296). Bajo fecha del 9 de octubre de este año encontramos en el *Diario de Madrid* una larga discusión de *Los Organos del cerebro*⁹ de la que citamos:

... Dos años estuvo viéndose la craneología en los teatros sin que su autor cómico se dignase imprimirla; pero si se dignaba dar copia manuscrita por 50 Luises (300 pesos), precio que exigió de un español curioso. ... No parece probable que el autor de los *Organos del cerebro* tenga motivo de quejarse tan amargamente como el de *La Misantería y Arrepentimiento*, que invocaba a Júpiter fulminante, porque esta pieza no le había valido más que 200 pesos. siendo así que a Madama Molé le había dado su traducción 40 francos.

1807—(5/787). En la *Minerva o el Revisor General*, tomo VII, pág. 184, se halla la noticia bajo el título de “Teatros” que en el Coliseo de la Cruz se representó el día 10 (de septiembre) la comedia en cinco actos titulada *La Reconciliación de los dos Hermanos* (*sic*);

¹ *Ibid.*, pág. 640.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pág. 641.

⁴ Para hacer más completos nuestros datos añadimos las noticias bibliográficas del infatigable y malogrado Dionisio Hidalgo, noticias que llegan hasta 1866, año en que falleció, y que están publicadas en el “Diccionario General de Bibliografía Española,” 7 tomos, Madrid, 1862-81. Nos referimos a esta obra al citar a “Hidalgo.”

⁵ Hay que enmendar la nota de Farinelli que dice “1805” (*op. cit.*, pág. 402, nota 4).

⁶ Cotarelo, pág. 662.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pág. 670.

⁸ “*Minerva o El Revisor General*” (obra periódica; Madrid, 1806), II, 129 (5/787).

⁹ En alemán se llama *Die Organe des Gehirns*, 1806.

"ha durado cuatro días y producido 11,812 rs." Cotarelo¹ no cita más que una, v.g. la del 10 de diciembre. Hacían los papeles principales la Pinta y Juan Carretero.

1808—*ibid.*, tomo VIII, se lee el 15 de enero que se representó en el Coliseo de los Caños la comedia titulada *Reconciliación de los dos Hermanos* (*sic*); "ha durado una noche y producido 1505 rs." Cotarelo no trae representación alguna para este día.

Idem—*ibid.*, pág. 200, se anuncia el día 20 de enero la representación de la comedia titulada *Misantería* (*sic*); "ha durado una noche y producido 1287 rs." Tampoco de esta representación se halla noticia en Cotarelo.

Idem—*ibid.*, pág. 292, se hace mención de la representación el 17 de febrero, en el Coliseo de la Cruz, de una comedia titulada *El Divorcio por Amor*,² diciendo que es "original del autor de la *Misantería y Arrepentimiento*. Ha durado 10 días y producido 44,736 rs." Comparando estos datos con los demás representaciones del mes resulta que fué representada la comedia de Kotzebue más que cualquier otra.

Ignora Cotarelo que es comedia de Kotzebue, pues dice "*El Divorcio por amor*, comedia de Enciso, o traducida por él, fué la última novedad que el teatro de la Cruz ofreció en este año."³ En una nota da el título del librito correspondiente, v.g. *El Divorcio por amor-Comedia en tres actos, en verso. Por D. F. E. Castrillón. Representada en el teatro de la Calle de la Cruz, el día 17 de Febrero de 1808*. En Madrid, Benito García, 1808, 4º, 31 págs. Cotarelo⁴ no indica más que la noche del estreno. Los papeles principales hacían la Coleta y Juan Carretero.

Idem—*ibid.*, tomo IX, págs. 17-24. Por consiguiente se halla en estas páginas bajo fecha del 22 de marzo una larga discusión de este drama. Se ve por la modificación de los nombres propios que vino la obra de Kotzebue a España por vía de Francia. Otro de los varios cambios es la supresión completa en la versión española—y tal vez ya en la francesa—del intentado suicidio en el Támesis. Resulta de eso que la cuestión del divorcio recibe un énfasis desproporcionado y

¹ *Op. cit.*, pág. 689.

² Se llama en alemán *Der Opferod*. 1798. Véase *Theater, op. cit.*, VIII, 1-172.

³ *Ibid.*, pág. 279.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pág. 690.

queda mal fundado lo demás de la acción. Es muy natural por tanto que el crítico de la *Minerva* halle algo confuso este drama de Kotzebue. Sin embargo lo alaba al fin diciendo:

El lenguaje, es decir, el de los pensamientos o el original, no el de la traducción, es excelente: el autor manifiesta sabiduría y profundo conocimiento del corazón humano; pero en general sus personas hablan mejor que obran, habiendo mérito más de consiguiente en el diálogo que en la invención de la fábula. Parece también el autor aficionada a sacar niños a las tablas para aumentar el interés con sus tiernas e ingenuas expresiones: en *Misanthropía y Arrepentimiento* hay niños y aquí también; pero debe cuidarse de que a veces no hagan más bien reír que llorar ... : estos golpes teatrales pueden gustar alguna tal vez; pero si se repiten, se hacen comunes y fastidiosos, descubriendo el artificio y la afectación.

Idem.—*Ibid.*, tomo IX, pág 48, se dice que el “día 27 (de marzo) se representó la comedia titulada *El Divorcio por Amor*; ha durado dos noches y producido 5934 rs.” Cotarelo¹ no trae más que la representación del 27.

1809—(4/296). En el *Diario de Madrid*, bajo fecha del 28 de enero, se halla la noticia que “en el Coliseo de la Cruz se executará la comedia titulada *El Divorcio por Amor*, traducida del francés.” Al día siguiente se publica la misma noticia. Cotarelo no trae más que la del 28.² Si se toma en cuenta que casi nunca aparecen noticias de teatros en el *Diario de Madrid*, hay que concluir que se consideraba esta comedia de interés particular.

Idem—6 de diciembre *Misanthropía y Arrepentimiento* en el Teatro de la Cruz.³

1810—3 de febrero *Reconciliación* en el Teatro de la Cruz.⁴

Idem—10 de mayo *Misanthropía y Arrepentimiento* en el Teatro de la Cruz.⁵

La década que sigue no nos proporcionó ninguna noticias directas para nuestro estudio; sacamos las siguientes de la obra de Cotarelo.

1811— 8 de mayo	<i>Reconciliación.</i>	Teatro de la Cruz	(pág. 722)
2 de junio	<i>Misanthropía</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 723)
6 de agosto	<i>Divorcio por amor</i>	Príncipe	(pág. 725)
29 de octubre	<i>Reconciliación</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 727)
19 de noviembre	<i>idem</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 728)
30 de diciembre	<i>idem</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 729)
14 de septiembre	<i>Misanthropía</i>	Cruz	(pág. 723)

¹ *Ibid.*, pág. 691.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pág. 709.

² *Ibid.*, pág. 697.

⁵ *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pág. 708.

1812—21 de abril	<i>Reconciliación</i>	Príncipe	(pág. 736)
26 de septiembre	<i>Misantería</i>	Cruz	(pág. 747)
13 de octubre	<i>Reconciliación</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 748)
1813—17 de agosto	<i>Misantería</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 758)
30 de noviembre	<i>idem</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 760)
1814—26 de enero	<i>Reconciliación</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 761)
21 de agosto	<i>idem</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 773)
29 de octubre	<i>Misantería</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 774)
1815—28 de enero	<i>Divorcio por amor</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 775)
27, 28, 29 de octubre	<i>Misantería*</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 788)
1816—2 de febrero (tarde)	<i>Misantería</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 790)
2 y 3 de febrero	<i>Reconciliación</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 791)
4 de febrero (tarde)	<i>idem</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 791)
18 y 19 de mayo	<i>idem</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 803)
1 de diciembre	<i>Misantería</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 807)
7, 8 de diciembre	<i>Reconciliación</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 808)
1817—10, 11 de abril	<i>Divorcio por amor</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 817)
12 de mayo	<i>Reconciliación</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 817)
3 de septiembre	<i>Divorcio por amor</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 819)
1, 2 de octubre	<i>Misantería</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 820)
1818—6 de enero (tarde)	<i>idem</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 822)
25 de enero	<i>Reconciliación</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 822)
3 al 7 de mayo	<i>Los Moros de Granada</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 832)
6 de agosto	<i>Reconciliación</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 834)
8, 9 de agosto	<i>Misantería</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 834)
24, 25 de septiembre	<i>Los Moros de Granada</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 835)
27, 28 de septiembre	<i>idem</i>	<i>ibid.</i>	(pág. 835)

* Salió la Carmona después de su enfermedad.

La comedia *Los Moros de Granada* se estrenó el 3 de mayo, haciendo la Carmona el papel principal de mujer. Dice Cotarelo en una nota¹ lo siguiente: “*Los Moros de Granada, zegrías y abencerrajes. Comedia nueva en verso en tres actos.* Biblioteca municipal 125—10. Una nota preliminar firmada por G.P., dice que el pensamiento de enviar los niños al campo del vencedor, para implorar el perdón está tomado de una pieza de Kotzebue, titulada *Los husitas de Mamburg* (*sic*), pero como todo el interés de este drama, en alemán, está en la guerra de religión, adaptó el asunto a las luchas de los moros. Los héroes, pues son chiquillos; *Niños cristianos* que imploran piedad y niño musulmán, hijo de jefe zegrí, que la concede. ... El traductor es Fedriani. Se imprimió con el título algo variado, *El poder de la inocencia*”.

¹ Pág. 442, nota 2.

cía o los moros de Granada, zegríes y abencerrajes. Valencia, Gimeno, 1823, 8º.”

El drama original, *Die Hussiten vor Naumburg*, también es en verso, pero tiene cinco actos; es casi el más sentimental de todos los dramas de Kotzebue.

1820—(R/21,665). Encontramos de nuevo el nombre de Kotzebue en *El Constitutional*,¹ de 6, 7 y 8 de abril donde se anuncia que: “Mañana se ejecutará en este teatro (v.g. de la Cruz) la comedia nueva en cinco actos titulada *La Corona de Laurel o la Fuerza de las Leyes del célebre Kotzboue (sic.)*.²” Faltan otros datos.

Idem.—Según la lista del “Censor” de la piezas dramáticas representadas desde el 5 de agosto de 1820 hasta el 13 de julio de 1822 se representaba de Kotzebue no solamente esta comedia que acabamos de citar, sino también *Misanthropía y Arrepentimiento y Reconciliación o Los dos Hermanos*.³

Idem—(Hidalgo, IV, 169). Otra evidencia de que no había cesado de interesar al público español *La Misanthropía y Arrepentimiento* es la publicación nueva, en 1820, de la traducción hecha por Dionisio Solís.

1821—(2/51,146). No sorprende por consiguiente una discusión detallada de la *M. y A.*, drama “en tres actos, de Kotzcue,” publicada en *El Censor, periódico político y literario*, Madrid, VIII, 348—55. La citamos en parte porque no falta importancia a este periódico.⁴

Este célebre drama merece un lugar muy distinguido entre todos los del nuevo género, conocido en la dramática moderna con el nombre de *comedia sentimental o plañidera*. Fuerza es hablar de este género, ya que a pesar de la aceptación que tiene en los teatros de todas las naciones, ha sido objeto de críticas, bien serias, bien satíricas, que han fulminado contra él personas muy distinguidas por sus conocimientos en la bella literatura. Esta especie de drama, desconocida en la antigüedad, no tiene por consiguiente nombre griego ni latino. Ya es esta una gran preocupación contra él: los antiguos no le dieron nombre, no reglas. ...

¹ Empezando con el número 309 del 13 de marzo *La Crónica literaria y científica de Mora* se llama así, pero continúa los números de ésta.

² No nos ha sido posible identificar esta comedia.

³ Véase G. le Gentil, *Les Revues littéraires de l'Espagne pendant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle* (París, 1909).

⁴ Véase sobre este particular G. le Gentil, *op. cit.*, pág. 10.

¿Porqué, pues, hemos de privar al teatro de un nuevo género que pinta la verdad, que la embellece, que proporciona escarmientos morales más seguros que la tragedia, porque están mas cercanos a nuestra condición ...? Pocos se hallan en el caso de aprovecharse de las lecciones terribles que da la infanda familia de Atreo, pero pocos serán los que no pueden aplicarse la fábula de la *Reconciliación de los dos hermanos*. ...

La Misantropía obtiene un lugar muy preferente en esta clase de composiciones, por la originalidad de la combinación dramática, y por la dificultad de hacer verosímil la catástrofe. ...

Empezando por el año de 1823 rige en España la reacción política; gran número de los escritores liberales se veía proscrito y vivía en Francia o Inglaterra.¹

1828—Agustín Durán hace mención de Kotzebue de paso solamente refiriéndose a “las formas y modales serios y característicos del Misántropo,” pero sin desaprobación.²

1829—(1/51,894). Se habla de la literatura y los literatos alemanes no pocas veces, pero no encontramos nada de Kotzebue hasta ahora—y cuán grande es el cambio de estimación—por lo menos en este caso particular! La discusión se halla en *El Correo, periódico literario y mercantil*, del 14 de enero, ocasiónada por la representación de la *M. y A.*—“drama alemán de A. Kotzebue, traducido al español.” Se lee allí:

... Una acción de esta especie es incomprendible, y ningún autor que tiene sentido común buscó nunca para asunto de una pieza teatral lo que no se puede comprender,

v.g. como una adultera puede llegar a ser verdadero ángel.

... Cuando esta pieza se presentó traducida en nuestro teatro hace bastantes años produjo, si así es lícito expresarme, una especie de furor. Una multitud de representaciones consecutivas no fué poderosa a calmar la curiosidad de los espectadores: todo Madrid acudió a verla: se vertieron muchas lágrimas, y sobre todo en la cazucla, y la compañía cómica tuvo ocasión de lucirse extraordinaria y prodigiosamente. Después ha calmado esta efervejecencia de sensibilidad: la pieza no produce el mismo efecto pero siempre es de prueba para la actriz que tiene que desempeñar el carácter de la arrepentida Eulalia.

¹ Véase E. Allison Peers, “The Literary Activities of the Spanish *Emigrados*,” *Modern Language Review*, XIX (1924), 315-24, 445-58.

² En su *Discurso*, escrito y publicado en 1828, reimpresso en las *Memorias de la Acad. Esp.*, II, 289.

1832—(1/51,901). Tres años mas tarde, el mismo *Correo*, num. 579, del 23 de marzo, trata otra vez de nuestro autor bajo el título “Noticias sobre Mr. de Kotzebue,” pero de tono diferente. Se basa probablemente en un artículo francés. Se celebran las Efeméridas de su asesinato. Se da buen bosquejo de su vida, tratando también con muchos pormenores a Carlos Sand, y se continua así: “Entre los muchos escritos de Mr. de Kotzebue son muy estimados el que publicó en 1792 con el título de ‘Defensa de la nobleza,’ ... y sobre todo su teatro, tan bien analizado y apreciado por madama de Staël en su *Alemania*,¹ y del que posee el teatro español una pequeña muestra en el drama en tres actos *Misantrropía y Arrepentimiento* cuya adquisición debemos al modesto y laborioso autor de *Camila*.²

Otra vez vienen años en que la literatura y las bellas artes se pierden en los trastornos políticos del día; es la época que hace al escritor y poeta exclamar: “¡Desgracia de nuestro país! En unos tiempos nada de política habrá de escribirse; en otros nada como no sea política ... !”³

1837—(U/5390). Sin embargo no faltan empresas ambiciosas empujadas por el desarrollo de la prensa periodística de Francia y de Inglaterra. Una de estas es la *Revista Europea—miscelánea de filosofía, historia, ciencias, literaturas y bellas artes*, que trata de divulgar la vida intelectual europea entre los españoles por medio de la discusión de obras importantes de historia y de literatura aunque sea de segunda mano, sacando la materia de la *Revue des deux mondes*, *Revue de Paris*, *Foreign Quarterly Review*, etc. En el primer tomo de esta *Revista Europea* se habla de Kotzebue al dar cuenta de la “Literatura alemana,” por Wolfgang Menzel.⁴ Bien se sabe lo famoso que es este libro por sus ataques desmesurados contra Goethe. Menzel, el “papa literario” de aquella época, le consideraba el gran pagano voluptuoso y aristócrata egoista sin amor a la patria ni a nada. El que escribe la crítica de que hablamos está de acuerdo por lo general con las opi-

¹ Véase la segunda parte, capítulo xxv, de su libro *De l'Allemagne*.

² Dionisio Solís es el autor de *Camila*.

³ En el prefacio del número Iº, 1836, del *Semanario Pintoresco Español* (1/50,663).

⁴ *Die deutsche Litteratur (Zweite vermehrte Auflage)*. Stuttgart, 1826.

niones de Menzel aunque difiere de lo que dice sobre Voss. Continúa como sigue:

Con más razón y justicia censura Menzel a Kotzebue. Tan infundada nos parece la gran reputación de este dramático: tan pernicioso a la literatura de su tiempo la influencia que adquirió. Sus obras introdujeron una cierta sofistería del corazón, una mezcla de frivolidad y sentimentalismo en que se hallan confundidas las ideas de virtud y de vicio. Sus inculpables adulteras, sus salteadores jenerosos, sus condescendientes maridos, sus incontaminadas inocentes que se entregan en los brazos del primero que pasa, sus desfloradas doncellas, tan candorosas y puras, que ignora el que ya no tienen derecho alguno a aquel título; estos y muchos otros caracteres favoritos suyos, que pueblan su galería dramática, son creaciones que repugnan a la vez al buen sentido, al buen gusto, y a toda idea de decencia. ...¹

1838—(1/50,665). Pero si el juicio de los críticos de profesión condenaba por completo a Kotzebue, Goethe, con su visión abarcadora y la serenidad de su profundo saber, le veía relacionado con la vida y la generalidad de los hechos humanos.² El juicio sereno de Goethe sobre el dramatista Kotzebue se halla en lengua española en el *Se-manario Pintoresco Español*, números 116 y 117, del 17 y 24 de junio respectivamente del año 1838 donde se hallan impresos "Los Consejos de Goethe a los literatos." En la segunda parte se lee:

La moda es falaz. ... Ved a Kotzebue de quien hoy se dice tanto mal; pues fué de moda en un dfa como Iffland, y la moda le mató. Ambos tienen sin embargo su mérito real. En su viaje por medio de la vida, miran, observan y atienden, y comprenden nuestras faltas y necesidades. El soplo de la realidad anima a sus producciones y se encuentra en ellas verdad, fuerza e interés.³

1839—(1/69,245). A este año pertenece lo que dice Hartzenbusch en sus "Noticias sobre la vida y escritos de D. Dionisio Solís," publicadas en la *Revista de Madrid*, de las cuales ya hemos hablado repetidas veces.

1840—(1/69,247). Se hace mención favorable de Kotzebue en esta misma *Revista de Madrid*⁴ al dar cuenta, bajo el título "Literatura

¹ Pág. 66.

² El Dr. Gerhard Stenger ha publicado, en 1910, una investigación tocando las relaciones de "Goethe und Kotzebue," en el tomo XXII de los *Breslauer Beiträge sur Litteraturgeschichte*.

³ En vista de una protección tan alta no debe sorprendernos que el traductor francés de la primera parte del "Faust," Gérard de Nerval, admira mucho a Kotzebue y desde 1837 "il songe à traduire et à vulgariser les œuvres principales de celui-ci," v. g. Kotzebue. Véase Aristide Marie, *Gérard de Nerval, Le Poète—L'Homme* (París, 1914), pág. 140.

⁴ *Ia época* (2a serie), III, 452-72, 525-44.

alemana," de *Kochs Compendium der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, 2. Auflage. Después de haber tocado en todas las fases de la vida intelectual alemana desde los primeros monumentos literarios hasta fines del siglo XVIII y principios del siglo XIX, tratando al fin de Kleist, Houwald y Werner, dice el firmante, "D.G.G.,"¹ copiando evidentemente de Koch:

... Las mejores comedias de una época anterior han envejecido en su mayor parte, y las nuevas no pueden acomodarnos; de modo que Kotzebue, este poeta tantas veces censurado, y no sin razón, es todavía el único que podemos citar, y ninguno de sus sucesores nos hace esperar que sea reemplazado en mucho tiempo.

1841—(3/2922). "El Túmulo sobre la Colina, por Kotzebue, autor de la *Misantería y Arrepentimiento*. Traducido del francés por U. A. Barcelona, 1841."

Trata este cuento del marido que había acusado a su esposa de infidelidad conyugal y la había echado de casa con el hijo que llevaba en sus entrañas. Vemos al marido ya muy anciano abatido y postrado al pie de la urna que contiene las cenizas de su hijito, muerto en tierna edad; está visitándola, incógnito, antes de que muera.

El tomito en que se halla este cuento pertenece a una serie de cuentos morales por el alemán Augusto Lafontaine, el canónigo Cristóbal Schmid y otros.

1843—(Hidalgo, I, 180). "Aventuras de mi padre, o causas de mi venida a este mundo. Novela escrita en alemán, por M. Kotzbue, traducida al español por D.A.B.C. Barcelona 1843."

1845—En la biografía de Juan Nicasio Gallego² se habla del esparcimiento del "gusto alemán" que, aunque por el conducto poco puro de traducciones francesas, han propagado en el Occidente de Europa las obras de Schiller, Kotzebue, Goethe y otros, ha abierto sin duda este nuevo rumbo a las ideas y máximas literarias. ..."³

1854—Hacia mediados del siglo XIX llegó Kotzebue a ser juzgado históricamente, como perteneciente a *tempi passati*.⁴ En una dis-

¹ Será Don Gervasio Gironella.

² En *Galería de españoles célebres contemporáneos* por Nicomedes Pastor Diaz (Madrid, 1845), VIII, 56, citado por Farinelli, *op. cit.*, pág. 372, nota 1.

³ En otra reseña daremos pormenores sobre lo que entendían los españoles de aquella época bajo el *gusto alemán*.

⁴ No es el caso en Alemania, pues entre el septiembre de 1905 y el agosto de 1906 se representaban allí ocho diversos dramas de Kotzebue en 39 funciones. Véase G. Stenger, *op. cit.*, págs. 173 y sig.

cusión bastante interesante del “Romanticismo” por Gerónimo Borao en la *Revista Española de Ambos Mundos* se dice de Kotzebue:

La Chaussée elevó a sistema estos tibios máticos del futuro romanticismo, y creó la comedia lacrimosa que Diderot vino a modificar, originándose de esta suerte la tragedia popular, que es, y no la clásica, *la que corre las calles*, como dijo Ducis. ... Secuaz de la nueva escuela fué Kotzebue, y unos y otros pasaron como corruptores del buen gusto, cuando no eran sino intérpretes poco afortunados de la única tragedia posible en la época moderna.¹

1869—(T-i/201). Es un hecho curioso que se publicaron tan tarde dos dramas de Kotzbu (sic), v.g. *La Sacerdotisa del Sol*² y *Los Españoles en el Perú o La Muerte de Rolla*,³ ambos traducidos por Victor Vela del Camino.⁴ Es de dudar, sin embargo, que se haya jamás representado el uno o el otro de estos dramas. Figuran en el tomo VII del *Teatro Selecto antiguo y moderno, nacional y extranjero*, Barcelona 1866-69, al lado de otros once dramas alemanes. Con toda probabilidad fueron traducidos con los demás del *Théâtre allemand* de los *Chefs d'œuvres des théâtres étrangers*, París, 1822, 25 tomos (T/4941). Por lo menos es cierto que se tradujeron estos dos dramas así: la traducción española sigue a la francesa de los *Chefs d'œuvres* cuidadosamente en cuanto es posible; sólo se equivoca en ciertos pormenores porque ignora el traductor español el texto alemán.

1873—(T/9498). La última traducción de Kotzebue que encontramos se titula “*La Mujer celosa*—Comedia en un acto. Escrita en alemán por Kotzbu (sic) y arreglada a la escena española por D. Gerardo de la Puente. Representada con gran aplauso en el Teatro del Circo el día 17 de abril de 1873, a beneficio de la Sra. Da. Matilde Diez. Madrid 1873.”

Al parecer es un *labor of love* aunque no sea dirigido a Kotzebue, pues lleva esta dedicación: “A la eminent actriz Doña Matilde Diez.—Permítame U. que la dedique mi humilde trabajo en testimonio de admiración y reconocimiento. (firma:) Gerardo de la Puente. Boston, 27 de marzo de 1873.”

¹ II, 802 (1/46,923-26).

² En alemán se llama *Die Sonnenjungfrau*, 1791.

³ En alemán *Die Spanier in Peru oder Rollas Tod*, 1797.

⁴ Debe enmendarse lo que dice Farinelli, *op. cit.*, pág. 402, v.g. “Zu verwundern ist, dass Kotzebues Stück ‘Die Spanier in Peru oder Rollas Tod,’ . . . , keine Bearbeitung für die spanische Bühne fand.”

Aunque está fechada en Boston, se imprimió en Madrid, por la "Administración Lírico-dramática" que publicó muchísimas piezas teatrales.

La comedia alemana tiene dos actos; de la Puente la condensó, la "arregló" y dió nombres españoles a las personas.

No podemos todavía, por falta de materiales, trazar y establecer las influencias de Kotzebue, sean literarias, sean político-sociales: nos ha de bastar por lo tanto establecer datos cronológicos e históricos.

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THE CONDITION OF THE LONDON THEATERS, 1679-83: A REFLECTION OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The importance of political plays on the Restoration stage has been recognized,¹ but no one has pointed out in detail just how politics affected the theaters. Allardyce Nicoll says:

The year 1680 introduces us to a new set of complications. It was a year of political unrest, and this was at once reflected in the theatre by the banning of a number of plays. This, added to the losses of the house [the Theatre Royal], made a union of the two patents [Killigrew's and D'Avenant's] not only desirable but necessary.²

A survey of all the conditions leading to the union would, of course, include a history of the companies, and would emphasize the misfortunes of the King's Company.³ In this study I shall show in some detail how from 1679 to 1683 the theaters of London were affected by political interests.

At the outset it is advisable to note the political and popular reactions to the Popish Plot. In August, 1678, Oates and Tongue first revealed a so-called "Catholic plot" against the English church and state. Their main assertion was that the Jesuits were plotting to murder the King and to restore Roman Catholicism in England. The Duke of York, Catholic heir to the throne, was involved. The informers were examined before the Privy Council, which ordered that the persons accused be arrested and their papers seized. The disclosures in the letters of Coleman, private secretary to the Duchess of York, of a design to re-establish popery in England, and the murder of

¹ Allardyce Nicoll, "Political Plays of the Restoration," *Modern Language Review*, XVI (1921), 224-42; and my dissertation, *Political Satire on the London Stage, 1675-1690* (Library of the University of Chicago).

² *A History of Restoration Drama, 1680-1700* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 296. H. B. Baker vaguely remarks: "Whether it was that the great religious and political issues, which then and for many years afterwards engrossed the public mind, left little room there for such diversions, or whether it proceeded from an apathy for things theatrical, a reaction from the eagerness with which they had been enjoyed at the Restoration, it would be useless to discuss, but for some time previously there had been a great falling off in public patronage" (*London Stage* [London, 1889], I, 57-58).

³ On this subject, see A. Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama*, pp. 281 ff.

Godfrey, before whom Oats had made his depositions, were followed by panic. Rushing to the defense of Protestantism, the Opposition in Parliament investigated the plot, excluded Catholics from Parliament, secured royal proclamations against papists and for public fasts, urged the exclusion of the Duke of York, and in 1680 adopted a Protestant Bill of Association which was designed to exclude from office anyone not a member of the Association and, on the death of the King, to provide for the maintenance of martial law.¹

The Opposition in Parliament represented the temper and anxiety of the people. The fear of popery was universal. From Whitehall, on November 13, 1678, Sir Henry Coventry writes: "I believe no time has seen an alarm so universal in the nation as it is at this present."² Sir Robert Southwell declares that the kingdom is "inflamed with the terror of a Plot."³ Later, Coventry writes: "The people being so affrighted and incensed at this plot that there is hardly patience anywhere to hear the least defence in the behalf of anybody when accused."⁴ He sees no hope: "I wish as well as anybody and will endeavor as far as my body and understanding will second me, to preserve all from ruin; but I must with great grief say my hope bears no proportion to my wishes. But this is certain, that, without any invasion from abroad or any insurrection at home, a greater confusion was never seen in any nation."⁵ Sir Robert Clayton, lord mayor elect of London, in his speech at the Guildhall, on September 29, 1679, warns his audience against the "Damnable Plots and Contrivances" of the Church of Rome, which threaten "no less then Utter Ruine . . . to the whole Protestant Interest." Meanwhile, broadsides in verse, reminding the people of the "Powder-Treason," of Pius' bull against Elizabeth, of Godfrey's death, added fuel to the flames.⁶ Annually, on November 17, the anniversary of Elizabeth's succession,

¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part II, The Manuscripts of the House of Lords, 1678-1688* (London, 1887), pp. 210-11; *Calendar of State Papers, "Domestic Series 1678"* (London, 1913), pp. 425-26, 431-32, 580; *London Gazette* (October 31-November 4, 1678, etc.); John Pollock, *The Popish Plot: A Study in the History of the Reign of Charles II* (London, 1903).

² Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde* (N.S.; London, 1906), IV, 233.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245. The date is November 26, 1678.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁶ *Poetical Broadsides*, British Museum, C. 20. f. 2.

the citizens of London assisted at an extraordinary triumph in which the Pope was "burnt in solemn manner."¹ The state of anxiety and panic was not, of course, constant. At times there was no news, the coffee-houses languished, the town was silent.² But the news of a plot in Ireland, the report of the King's illness, the rumor of the King's marriage to the Duke of Monmouth's mother, the election of sheriffs, the trial of Shaftesbury—these reports and events wrought London up to a high pitch of excitement.³

Such was the state of politics and the public mind in the years immediately after the discovery of the Popish Plot. It is evident that for the theaters such distractions, such abnormal conditions, must have created serious problems.

The extraordinary interest in politics was evidenced in the theaters, first, by indifference to plays; and, second, by official and party opposition to plays that from a partisan point of view were undesirable. This division does not indicate two quite distinct periods, for it appears that public indifference was not wholly replaced by partisan support. Roughly, there was, however, a time of public indifference to the theaters and then one of political activity in the theaters. As I shall show, the theaters suffered from official interference and partisan audiences no less than from public apathy.

Soon after the discovery of the plot, the dramatists complained that they had fallen upon evil days, and often pointed to the prevailing interest in politics as the reason that theaters were not properly supported. In the dedication of *The Kind Keeper; or, Mr. Limberham* (1680), Dryden says: "I cannot easily excuse the printing of a play at so unseasonable a time, when the great plot of the nation, like one of Pharaoh's lean kine, has devoured its younger brethren of the stage."⁴ Again, in 1680, Dryden declares that the public cares for nothing but news, the exchange of which has become a theater "of vast resort,"

¹ These pageants are described in Dryden's Prologue to Southerne's *The Loyal Brother*; in F. C. Brown, *Elkanah Settle: His Life and Works* (Chicago, 1910), pp. 61-63; in *Rozburgh Ballads*, II, No. 292; in *The True Domestick Intelligence* (November 21, 1679); in *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* (November 19, 1681).

² "Some Unpublished Letters of Gilbert Burnet, the Historian" (ed. H. C. Foxcroft), *Camden Miscellany*, XI, 16-17. The date is 1680.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 20, 25, 28; *Calendar of State Papers*, "Domestic Series, 1680-1681," pp. 320-22, 328, 330, 332. At Oxford also, as well as in other places, excitement was intense, and there was talk of war (*Letters of Humphrey Prideaux . . . to John Ellis . . . 1674-1722* [ed. E. M. Thompson; Camden Society, 1875], pp. 90-91, 101, 104).

⁴ *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), VI, 5.

where villains provide entertainment.¹ In a "Prologue to the University of Oxford" Dryden complains that

Discords and plots, which have undone our age,
With the same ruin have o'erwhelmed the stage.²

Vividly descriptive of the hard estate of poets and actors are the following lines from Dryden's Epilogue to Banks's *The Unhappy Favourite; or, The Earl of Essex* (1681):

We act by fits and starts, like drowning men,
But just peep up, and then drop down again.
Let those who call us wicked change their sense,
For never men lived more on providence.

So wretched, that, if Pharaoh could divine,
He might have spared his dream of seven lean kine,³
And changed his vision for the Muses nine.

Dryden's evidence is corroborated by that of other dramatists. In the dedication of *A True Widow* (1679) Shadwell mentions "the calamity of the time, which made people not care for diversions" as one reason for the failure of the play.⁴ Again in 1679 Shadwell indicates that things are quite hopeless: the "Citt" with his wife and son now shuns the play; each fop has become a politician; even "idle youth" have deserted the theater.⁵ It is no time for plays, declares Crowne, now that "the nation in a tempest rowles"; and he adds that the playhouse has "fallen to the ground." Ladies may spare their journeys to Hyde Park, for "our empty play-house has enough fresh air."⁶ In the Prologue to *Henry the Sixth, The First Part* (1681), Crowne exclaims, "Play-houses like forsaken barns are grown." Mrs. Behn agrees with Dryden that the stage has been ruined by the

¹ Prologue to Lee's *Caesar Borgia* (*The Poetical Works of John Dryden* [ed. W. D. Christie; London, 1911], pp. 441-42.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 450. Christie thinks the date of this Prologue is 1681 (*ibid.*, n. 1); but from the lines describing the rebels who have gone to Scotland the correct date would seem to be 1682, after the union of the companies (see A. Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama*, p. 297).

³ *The Poetical Works of John Dryden* (ed. Christie), p. 452. In the Prologue to Tate's *The Loyal General* (1679), Dryden makes libels and factious speeches partly responsible for the neglect of serious plays (*ibid.*, pp. 443-44). See also Dryden's Prologue to Shadwell's *A True Widow* (1679).

⁴ *Thomas Shadwell* (ed. G. Saintsbury; London, n.d.), p. 230.

⁵ Prologue to *The Woman-Captain* (*The Works of Thomas Shadwell* [London, 1720], Vol. III).

⁶ See the Prologue and the Epilogue to *The Ambitious Statesman* (*The Dramatic Works of John Crowne* [Edinburgh, 1873], III, 148, 241).

"plotting Age." So busy is the "fearful Town" that "our honest calling here is useless grown."¹ The Epilogue to Mrs. Behn's *The Rover; or, The Banish'd Cavaliers*, Part II (1680), is especially interesting. So slowly is the "scanted Tribute" paid that "our Poets must find out another trade." All efforts to please the "Clan," all flattery of the "Mutineers," even "fat Cardinals, Pope Joans and Fryers" fail "except the Author be for Commonwealth." Clearly, the theaters were not prosperous. So dark at times was the outlook that the dramatists feared ruin. If the Presbyterians regained control, preaching would be substituted for plays, and the actors might have leave to depart in their first "original, a cart."

In these statements, one must, to be sure, make some allowance for exaggeration. The dramatists may have magnified the evils that they might the more bitterly assail the party which was held responsible for the disorder. It is true, moreover, that the theaters were not deserted. Some plays were successful.² The evidence previously cited shows, however, that on account of political agitation the theaters were not on the whole prosperous. It is noteworthy that the cry of hard times is voiced by the loyal dramatists, such as Dryden and Mrs. Behn, and that the complaints begin in 1679 and are repeated in the following three years. The next problem that the theaters faced grew out of their attempts to attract the public by means of political plays. In dealing with political subjects the dramatists inevitably took sides. The result was partisan and, in the case of some Whig plays, official opposition. Official interference caused the delay, alteration, or prohibition of objectionable plays.

In 1680, Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus: Father of his Country* and Tate's *The History of King Richard the Second* were prohibited. Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, The First Part* was banned in 1681.³ To

¹ Prologue to *The Feign'd Curtezans; or, A Night's Intrigue* (1679), in *The Works of Aphra Behn* (ed. Montague Summers), II, 307.

² Settle's *Female Prelate* (1680) was unusually popular (F. C. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Falkland's Prologue to Otway's *The Souldiers Fortune*); Dryden's *The Spanish Fryar* (1680) "produced vast Profit to the Company" (Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* [London, 1886], p. 37); *Oedipus* (1679), by Dryden and Lee, "took prodigiously, being Acted 10 days together" (*ibid.*); Otway's *The Orphan* (1680) and *Venice Preserv'd* (1682) were extremely well liked (*ibid.*, p. 36); Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* (1681) was very "beneficial to the Poet and the Actors" (*ibid.*, pp. 38-39).

³ On the reported silencing of *The Maid's Tragedy* and on Waller's alteration of this play see A. C. Sprague, *Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 58-63, 178-86.

Lucius Junius Brutus the government objected because it contained "very Scandalous Expressions & Reflections upon the Government."¹ Brutus, the hero, is the champion of justice and the commonwealth. In glowing phrases, he depicts a government where every man is free, where peace prevails, where nobles and princes are respected and the gods adored. Moreover, the lines on Tarquin's immorality were doubtless interpreted as a reflection upon Charles II.² It is worthy of note that priests, who are leagued with the rebels for the overthrow of the commonwealth, are the object of some of Brutus' most violent denunciation.³ For these reasons the play was very properly regarded as anti-royalist and was almost immediately silenced.⁴

Three days after *Lucius Junius Brutus* was banned Tate's *The History of King Richard the Second* suffered the same fate.⁵ According to Tate's "Prefatory Epistle in Vindication of the Author," "a positive Doom of Suppression without Examination" was all that he could obtain. To be acted at all, it had been necessary to change the scenes, the names of the characters, and the title.⁶ Tate takes great pains to defend himself from the suspicion of having written a "Disloyal or Reflecting Play. He protests that he had "as little design of Satyr on present Transactions, as Shakespear himself that wrote this Story before this Age began." His professions of innocence are not altogether convincing. The play must have been understood as suggesting a parallel with the court and government of Charles II, if not with the King himself.⁷

¹ Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama*, p. 10.

² Act I, p. 3, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXII (1892), 365.

³ Act IV, p. 51.

⁴ According to Cibber, it was "silenced after the third Day of acting it" (*An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* [London, 1740], p. 283); according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, it was prohibited on the third night (XXXII, 365). The fact, however, seems to be that it was acted for six days and then prohibited, as the following entry in *The Term Catalogues* (ed. Arber), I, 451, shows: "Lucius Junius Brutus, Father of his Country. A Tragedy, acted at the Duke's Theatre for six days; but then prohibited. Written by N. Lee. Quarto. Price 1s."

⁵ A. Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁶ It was acted under the name of the *Sicilian Usurper*. See the title and the "Prefatory Epistle" in the 1681 edition.

⁷ At the trial of Shaftesbury in 1681, it was charged that the Earl had said that the King deserved as much to be deposed as had Richard II (*An Account at Large, of the Proceedings at The Sessions-House In the Old Bayly, on the 24 of November 1681. In Relation to the Bill of High Treason, prefer'd against the Earl of Shaftesbury*, British Museum, 515. 1. 2. (55).

Crowne's *Henry the Sixth, The First Part* was the only play prohibited in 1681. In the dedication of *The Spanish Friar* (1690) Crowne says:

My aversions to some things I saw there at the court acted by great men, carried me against my Interest, to expose Popery and Popish Courts in a Tragedy of Mine, call'd The Murder of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, which pleas'd the best Men of England, but displeas'd the worst; for e're it liv'd long, it was stifled by Command.

In the Cardinal's conspiracy to murder Gloucester and in his justification of that murder are found Crowne's most significant contributions. Here is that "Vinegar against the Pope" which caused the prohibition.¹

In this connection, two other plays are of interest. *Rome's Follies*, *Or the Amorous Fryars*, a farce, which according to the title-page "was lately Acted at a Person of Qualitie's House," and printed in 1681, was not presented at the public theaters. The Dedication, to Shaftesbury and Howard, explains why it had only a private hearing: "the Subject being not a little Satyrical against the Romanists, would very much hinder its taking." The Dedication also shows that Lee's *Caesar Borgia; Son of Pope Alexander The Sixth* had difficulty with the censor; it "would be far more difficult to get *Rome's Follies* play'd than *Caesar Borgia* was." The Epilogue to *Caesar Borgia* indicates that the play had met objection, probably official.²

Anti-Catholic and anti-royalist plays were not the only ones to give offense. *The Duke of Guise*, in which Dryden and Lee collaborated, was intensely loyal but was for some time delayed. Upon a

¹ The *Biographia Dramatica* (London, 1782), II, 151, remarks: "This play was at first represented with applause; but at length the Romish faction opposed it, and by their interest at court got it suppressed." Cf. Langabine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets . . .* (Oxford, 1691), p. 96.

² The lines in question read:

"Well, then be you his Judges; what pretence
Made them roar out, this Play would give offence?
Had he the Pope's Effigies meant to burn

More could not have been said, nor more have been done,
To damn this Play about the Court and Town."

The date of production is not certain. The play was published in November, 1679 (*The Term Catalogues* [ed. Arber], I, 370). If the epilogue to *Caesar Borgia* is to be credited, the performance followed that of the *Female Prelate*, which was first acted about September, 1680 (A. Nicoll, *op. cit.*, p. 372). Lee's *The Massacre of Paris* was probably written soon after the discovery of the plot (*Some Reflections Upon the Pretended Parallel in the Play Called The Duke of Guise* (1683), p. 2, and Dryden's *The Vindication of the Duke of Guise* (*The Works of John Dryden* [ed. Scott and Saintsbury], VII, 200-201), but it was not acted until 1690.

rumor that some "great persons were represented" in it, the Lord Chamberlain ordered the play brought before him. About two months later it was returned without allowance. Finally, after a long and severe examination, and when the "play itself was almost forgotten," it was licensed.¹ Such were the difficulties of a loyal play. The fortunes of dramatists were indeed peculiarly trying.

As an illustration of censorship, Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches, And Tegue O Dively The Irish Priest* (1681) is especially interesting. According to Shadwell, the Master of the Revels at first licensed the play with little alteration, but upon a report "that it was full of dangerous Reflections" he cut out large portions. The parts stricken out are chiefly those in which Smerk, chaplain of Sir Edward Hartfort, appears.² In addition, the censor struck out two short statements by Tegue, and a remark made by Sir Edward Hartfort. These excisions removed most of the satire upon the Church of England and all censure of the government. The greater part of Tegue's rôle was kept. In fact, the result of the cutting is that the Irish priest becomes the leading character.

To sum up, the censorship in 1680 and 1681 was very rigid. Only in satire on Catholics was some measure of freedom allowed, and even on this subject restrictions were imposed in 1681. If Catholic plays are excluded from consideration, it is clear that the censorship kept from the stage all or nearly all plays offensive to the court. There can be no doubt that these restrictions were embarrassing to the playwrights and to the theaters. From the official attitude I turn now to note the public reception of political plays.

In reviewing the reception of political plays, one may consider first those written for the Whigs and not prohibited. Only two are to be discussed: Settle's *Female Prelate* and Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches*. In the Dedication of his play, Settle implied that by affronting "so numerous a Party that are so powerful a Support of the Stage" he had no regard for his own interest. But, so far as is known, there was no opposition to the play, a melodramatic invective against the papacy. In fact, the *Female Prelate* was enthusiastically welcomed.

¹ *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), VII, 147 ff.

² In the 1720 edition, the expunged parts are italicized. The following list shows the extent of the cutting: Act I, pp. 223-27; Act II, pp. 241-44; Act III, pp. 267-69; Act IV, pp. 287-88.

Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* was less fortunate. A month before this play was acted, says Shadwell, great opposition was designed against it "by a Party, who . . . pretended that I had written a Satyr upon the Church of England." His enemies came "with the greatest Malice in the World to hiss It, and many that call'd themselves Protestants, joyn'd with them in that noble Enterprise." They were resolved to hiss it and "had gotten mercenary Fellows, who were such Fools, that they did not know when to hiss; and this was evident to all the Audience. It was wonderful to see Men of Quality, and Gentlemen, in so mean a Combination." Shadwell's enemies did not win a victory. Shadwell writes: "But, to my great Satisfaction, they came off as meanly as I could wish. I had so numerous an Assembly of the best sort of Men, who stood so generously in my Defense, for the three first Days, that they quash'd all the vain Attempts of my Enemies; the inconsiderable Party of Hissers yielded; and the Play liv'd in spite of them."¹ Describing successful plays, D'Urfey, in the following lines, evidently refers to *The Lancashire Witches*: "If his Play consists of a Witch, a Devil, or a Broomstick, so he have but a Priest at one end of the Play, and a Faction at 'tother end of the Pit, it shall be fam'd for an excellent piece."² Downes records the unexpected success of the play, though he attributes the success to the staging, the "Diverting Contrivances," and the good acting.³ At any rate, it is clear that at first the play held the stage by the support of the "best sort of Men, who stood so generously" in Shadwell's defense.⁴

From the Tory point of view, the general situation is pointed out in Mrs. Behn's Dedication of *The Roundheads; or, The Good Old Cause* (1681): "To a new Play with a Loyal Title . . . the sober and the tender conscienc'd throng as to a forbidden Conventicle, fearing the Cub of their old Bear of Reformation should be expos'd, to the scorn of the wicked." Their pious design is to "Hiss and Rail it as much out of countenance as they would Monarchy, Religion, Laws,

¹ From the Address "To the Reader," *The Works of Thomas Shadwell* (London, 1720), III, 215 ff.

² From the Dedication of *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681).

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

⁴ Cf. Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets . . .* (Oxford, 1691), p. 447, and *Biographia Dramatica*, II, 184.

and Honesty."¹ Mrs. Behn's account of the reception of her play, *The Roundheads*, is somewhat contradictory. It was, she declares, "carried in the House *nemine contra dicente*, by the Royal Party." But later she says that it has "drawn down Legions upon its head, for its Loyalty."² It is safe to conclude that *The Roundheads* encountered, as it certainly invited, strong opposition. Just as stormy seems to have been the reception of D'Urfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681). This play, writes D'Urfey, "had the Honour to please one party; and I am only glad, that the St. Georges of Eighty-one got a victory over the old hissing Dragons of Forty-two."³ There is a note of envy at the strong support accorded a political rival, and, in the Prologue, recognition of the fact that "in this Age 'tis not a Poets Merit, but his Party that must do his business."⁴

D'Urfey's next play, *The Royalist* (1682), was more successful. The Prologue expresses surprise at a full house to see a loyal play. On the other hand, in the Preface the author exclaims: "In this corrupted Age when Loyalty and Honesty are as frozen as Charity . . . who can expect this Play, though written upon an excellent and never to be forgotten Theam, should meet a favourable Reception." There is no evidence that Whigs interfered with the acting of *The Royalist*. If the author's word may be accepted, Mrs. Behn's *The City Heiress; or, Sir Timothy Treat-all* (1682) was "well received in the Town."⁵ It is, as the author proudly asserts, "in every part true Tory! Loyal all-over." These two Tory plays were relatively successful. It seems strange that they should have encountered no opposition, and one may be justified in supposing that there were hostile demonstrations, of which no record was kept. Concerning *The Duke of Guise*, on the other hand, we are not driven to conjecture. On account of the satire directed at the citizens and the sheriffs of London, the Whig leaders,

¹ *The Works of Aphra Behn* (ed. Summers), I, 337.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 337-38.

³ From the Dedication to the Earl of Berkeley.

⁴ How long, asks D'Urfey,

 . . . must our unhappy Stage

 Groan for the follies of this plotting Age:

 When shall we see an audience in the Pit,

 Not sway'd by Factions, that will silent sit,

 And friends to th' Poet, calmly judge his Wit?"

⁵ From the "Dedicatory Epistle," *The Works of Aphra Behn* (ed. Montague Summers), II, 200. Summers declares that the play "had a tremendous ovation" (*op. cit.*, II, 198). On what authority? Downes states that it lived "but a short time" (*op. cit.*, p. 37).

the Nonconformists, Parliament, and the Duke of Monmouth, this play met very strong opposition. Dryden writes: "It was persecuted with so notorious malice by one side, that it procured us the partiality of the other; so that the favors more than recompensed the prejudice."¹ It "was almost made a martyr for the royal cause." The enemies of the play "forbore not some rudeness in his Majesty's presence; but when his Royal Highness and his court were only there, they pushed it as far as their malice had power."² But the play was saved "by the indulgence of our good and faithful subjects."

The stormy and dubious reception of *The Duke of Guise* may be regarded as typical of the trials to which political plays were subjected. When it was acted, in 1682, the court, through the attack upon the charter of London, the prosecution of the sheriffs, the return of the Duke of York, the presentation of addresses of loyalty, was well on the road to triumph. Naturally, the Tories enjoyed a monopoly of political plays.³ Even at this stage, however, the Whigs had to be reckoned with in the theaters. They could not be flouted with impunity. The loyal dramatist had to pay the penalty of his partisanship.⁴

The thesis that the theaters from 1679 to 1683 were on the whole injured by political agitation is fairly established. The interest in the plot was at first so intense as to distract attention from the theaters, which accordingly suffered from neglect. To attract the public, the dramatists offered political and partisan plays. The Opposition was not, however, allowed free expression on the stage. With the exception of some Catholic satire, Whig plays were altered so as to be nearly harmless or were prohibited.⁵ But Tory plays abounded. The almost unparalleled political animosity of the time naturally found

¹ From the Dedication to the Earl of Rochester, *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), VII, 13.

² *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), VII, 173, and see pp. 216-17.

³ No new Whig plays were acted in 1682. F. C. Brown's assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 23) that "The Whigs must have been favorable to the play [*The Heir of Morocco*] on account of its ridicule of the Tories" is clearly incorrect. This play contains no ridicule of the Tories.

⁴ The desire of some dramatists that plays should not meddle with politics and that political divisions should cease is significant. See the Prologue to *Sir Barnaby Whigg* and the Prologue to Banks' *Vertue Betray'd; or Anna Bullen*.

⁵ It should be noted that after *The Lancashire Witches* (1681) Shadwell's next play was *The Squire of Alsatia*, acted in May, 1688. Dryden reports Shadwell as saying, "By G—, my lord, those Tory rogues will act none of my plays" (*The Works of John Dryden*, VII, 200). See also Shadwell's Prologue to *Bury Fair* (1689).

vent at the production of Tory plays. The theaters became battle-fields. Though under these circumstances attendance may for some time have been stimulated, one would scarcely urge that such support was wholesome or that the drama could thrive in such an atmosphere. In the years covered by this study, the contrary seems to have been true. While partisan zeal in the audience and on the stage flourished, the stage declined. Political distractions and the participation of the theater in politics seem, therefore, to explain in large measure the financial straits in which the playhouses were involved and which made the union of the companies necessary. Support of the theater, relatively small and limited to a rather definite social class as it was after the Restoration, was by political interests and rivalries so restricted that, in 1682, and for several years thereafter, the desire for the regular drama could be met by one, somewhat enlarged, company.

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TWO WORDSWORTHIAN CHAPBOOKS

One at least of Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads*, "We are Seven," possessed enough folk-quality to win contemporary publication in a form designed for just such humble readers as the poet would have esteemed. Wordsworthian bibliographers, however, have apparently overlooked the two chapbook versions of this poem which recently I acquired from a York bookseller, along with the tales of "Old Dame Trot and her Comical Cat," "The Babes in the Wood," "Blue Beard," and other popular favorites issued from the presses of north-of-England printers.

One of these chapbooks, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches (the same size as Rusher's famous Banbury chapbooks of approximately the same date), is stitched into a yellow paper cover, sixteen pages in all. The front cover is adorned with a scroll bearing the legend "Kendrew's Edition," and below, "of We are Seven." The title-page reads: "The little Maid and Gentleman, or, We are seven. Embellished with Engravings. York: Printed by J. Kendrew, 23 Colliersgate." The opposite page, headed "Frontispiece," bears a woodcut of a man and woman in conventional walking costume of the beginning of the nineteenth century, the man carrying a stick. Below it is a stanza from Isaac Watts:

Whene'er I take my walks abroad,
How many poor I see!
What shall I render to my God
For all his gifts to me?

Though remote from the spirit of Wordsworth's ballad, this was presumably as near appropriateness as Kendrew's stock of oft-used cuts could come. On the back cover an eager swain grasps the hand of a not indifferent milkmaid. Within are ten embellishing illustrations, most of them more appropriate to other contexts. Comparison of this with other chapbooks in Kendrew's series shows that two of these woodcuts were used also in "The History of Whittington and his Cat"; three, in "The Entertaining Story of Little Red Riding Hood"; one, in "The History of Little Tom Tucker"; one, in "The Elegy on the

Death and Burial of Cock Robin." The ones remaining doubtless adorn other little books of Kendrew's which have not come to my hand.¹ The incongruity of these woodcuts in general illustrates the well-known practice among printers of chapbooks of using over and over the same stock of woodblocks, often obtained by provincial printers from London.

Kendrew, the printer of this little book, flourished in York at the beginning of the nineteenth century at his shop in Colliersgate.² He announced a long list of penny books, including not merely such familiar ones as have been mentioned, but also moral works of more recent vintage; for example, "Mrs. Lovechild's Golden Present for all Good Little Boys and Girls" (by Lady Fenn), previously published by Newbery,³ who died in 1780. A number of other items likewise are borrowed from Newbery's list, e.g., "Silver Penny," "Giles Gingerbread," "Hermit of the Forest," "New Year's Gift," "The Foundling," and "Robinson Crusoe."⁴

My other chapbook is larger, measuring 3½ by 5½ inches, the same size as the half-penny books by W. Davison, of Alnwick, another north-of-England printer, one of Bewick's early patrons.⁵ It is merely folded, not stitched. This chapbook unfortunately bears no printer's name. The first page is entitled "We are Seven"; below is a cut of two gentlemen in knee breeches and a lady in simple gown of possibly slightly later date than that of the promenading lady in Kendrew's frontispiece; then follows the first stanza of the poem. Of the eight

¹ The kindness of Professor G. L. Kittredge has discovered for me other chapbooks in Kendrew's series containing cuts used in "We are Seven," sometimes in the context for which they were, apparently, first designed; as in the case of the cut showing two coffins guarded by two mourners ("We are Seven," p. 8) which illustrates a poem, "The Dead Twins," at the end of *The Cries of London*.

² Edwin Pearson, *Banbury Chapbooks and Nursery Toy Book Literature* (London, 1890), p. 45.

³ Charles Welsh, *A Bookseller of the Last Century* (London and New York, 1885), p. 218.

⁴ See "A List of Books Published by the Newberys, 1740-1800" (Welsh, *op. cit.*, Appendix II). Welsh says of "The Foundling," one of the items on Kendrew's list: "An edition was published in York about 1826, 32mo, 31 pp., by J. Kendrew, Colliersgate. It is a much abbreviated edition" (*ibid.*, p. 225).

⁵ Thomas Hugo, *The Bewick Collector* (London, 1866), pp. 97-111. While reading the proof of this article in the British Museum, I discovered a copy of this chapbook bound with five chapbooks bearing the imprint, "Alnwick: Published by W. Davidson." The volume is described in the catalogue as "Alnwick, 1840?" I note, however, that the "We are Seven" chapbook, lacking an imprint, differs from the others also in its clearer type, and in the quality of its woodcuts, though in other respects it resembles them.

pages, seven contain stanzas of the poem and a picture. The last page, surrounded by a border, bears the picture of a fat bird and a poem, "To a Robin Redbreast," beginning:

Welcome, pretty, harmless creature,
From the cold and blasting wind;
Here each night thy tender nature
Safety, warmth, and rest shall find.

The illustrations have the same tenuous connection with the text as have Kendrew's: a ship under full sail, a Norman church, two praying children before what may be an altar, a milkmaid with her cow.

Both chapbooks are based on a version of the poem printed before the revisions of Wordsworth's volume of 1815; Kendrew's is somewhat the better, particularly in punctuation. The opening line of the poem as originally printed in 1798, and in succeeding editions until 1815, reads: "A simple child dear brother Jim." This is the form in Kendrew's version. But the other version is altered (was it with the hope of bettering Coleridge's flippant suggestion?)¹ and reads: "A simple Child, dear brother Tim."

Other important variations are as follows:

Stanza 3, line 3:

ORIGINAL: Her eyes were fair, and very fair

KENDREW: [Like original]

OTHER: Her face was fair, etc.

Stanza 10, line 4:

ORIGINAL: And they are side by side

KENDREW: And they lay side by side

OTHER: [Like original]

Stanza 11, line 4:

ORIGINAL: I sit and sing to them

KENDREW: [Like original]

OTHER: I sit and talk to them

Stanza 13, line 2:

ORIGINAL: In bed she moaning lay

KENDREW: In bed she mourning lay

OTHER: [Like original]

Stanza 15, line 2:

ORIGINAL: If they two are in heaven

KENDREW: If there are two in heaven

OTHER: [Like original]

¹ See Wordsworth's notes on the composition of this poem.

The nature of these variations indicates, I think, that the two chapbooks were printed independently of each other, but both from the poem in its original form.¹

Laying aside these crude and tattered booklets, I turn to that Preface of Wordsworth's in the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* wherein he beseeches his reader to judge the poems "by his own feelings genuinely, and not by reflection upon what will probably be the judgment of others." Surely these two chapbook versions of "We are Seven" and their untutored readers seem the justification of the poet's theories. The taste of such lowly readers, he might have argued, unspoiled by conventional education and the critics, responded quickly to poetry which chose its "subjects from common life," its diction from "the real language of men."²

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¹ The only one of these passages in which the poet's final form is different from the original is the third, which finally reads: "And sing a song to them."

² After this article was in press Miss Helen Darbshire, of Somerville College, Oxford, called my attention to a letter of Wordsworth's to Frances Wrangham, dated Grasmere, June 5, 1808. The significant passage reads as follows: "I find, among the people I am speaking of, half-penny ballads, and penny and two-penny histories, in great abundance; these are often bought as charitable tributes to the poor persons who hawk them about (and it is the best way of procuring them). They are frequently stitched together in tolerably thick volumes, and such I have read; some of the contents, though not often religious, very good; other objectionable, either for the superstition in them (such as prophecies, fortune-telling, etc.) or more frequently indecency. I have so much felt the influence of these straggling papers, that I have many a time wished that I had talents to produce songs, poems, and little histories, that might circulate among other good things in this way, supplanting partly the bad; flowers and useful herbs to take the place of the weeds. Indeed some of the poems which I have published were composed, not without a hope that at some time or other they might answer this purpose" (*Letters of the Wordsworth Family from 1787 to 1858. Collected and edited by Wm. Knight[Boston and London, 1907]*, I, 362-63).

ON RECENT WORK IN GENERAL LINGUISTICS

I. THE UNDERLYING METHOD

The nineteenth century, beside establishing a scientific method for the study of linguistic change, produced also a few treatises which attempted to define the place of language in the universe.¹ At the opening of the present century stands Wundt's great work; it is followed by lesser ones at more and more frequent intervals, until, in the present decade, the average rises to more than one a year.²

Linguists are today agreed upon the essentials of their method;

¹ W. von Humboldt, *Ueber die Kawi-sprache*, Berlin Abh., 1836-40; the general linguistic part re-edited, with full comment, by A. F. Pott, Berlin, 1876.

H. H. Steinthal, *Charakteristik der hauptähnlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues*, Berlin 1860; re-edited by F. Mistelli, Berlin, 1893; *Einleitung in die Psychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1871; 2d ed., 1881.

M. Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, London, 1861.

W. D. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, New York, 1867; *The Life and Growth of Language*, New York, 1875.

F. Müller, *Grundriß der Sprachwissenschaft*, Wien, 1876 ff.

A. Hovelacque, *La Linguistique*, Paris, 1876; 4th ed., 1888.

H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, Halle, 1880; 4th ed., 1909.

J. Byrne, *General Principles of the Structure of Language*, London, 1885; 2d ed., 1892.

G. von der Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1891; 2d ed., 1901.

O. Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, London, 1894.

H. Sweet, *The Practical Study of Languages*, London, 1890; *The History of Language*, London, 1900.

H. Oertel, *Lectures on the Study of Language*, New York, 1901.

² W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, I. *Die Sprache*, Leipzig, 1900; 3d ed., 1911.

J. van Ginneken, *Grondbeginelen der psychologische taalwetenschap*, Lier, 1904-6; *Principes de linguistique psychologique*, Paris, 1907.

F. N. Finck, *Aufgabe und Gliederung der Sprachwissenschaft*, Halle, 1905; *Die Haupttypen des menschlichen Sprachbaus*, Leipzig, 1910.

V. Porzeinski, *Vvedenie v jazykovedenie*, Moskva, 1907; 3d ed. 1913.

F. Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*; *Introduction*, B.A.E. Bull. 30, Washington, 1911.

E. Richter, *Wie wir sprechen*, Leipzig, 1912.

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W. Schmidt, *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde*, Heidelberg, 1926.

their disagreements can be precisely stated and discussed upon common ground; they do not in their actual work use the troublesome introspective terminology; they are not disturbed by the impossibility, today, of reducing human conduct to physiologic (neurologic) terms; yet they employ no extra-material forces. As, in general, neither psychology nor the other human sciences have reached this point, the quickening of interest in linguistics may be in part due to its occupying a strategic position from which to attack the study of man.

Now, our writers do not make this attack. They accept the finalism and supernaturalism of individual psychology, with many variations, only to discard it, of course, as soon as they approach the actual subject matter of linguistics. Their introductory discussions would have been far more interesting and fruitful had they worked in the opposite direction: insisted upon the psychologist's recognizing the methods and formulas with which we study language, and perhaps even outlined a psychology that would harmonize with these methods and formulas.

To the linguist who is interested in the implications of his method, no psychology can be acceptable which tries to explain on an individual basis phenomena which he knows to be historically conditioned by the social group. For the linguist an act of speech is the result of factors which may be grouped as follows:

1. Circumstances of the particular instance
 - a) Physical stimulus
 - b) Purely personal condition of the individual at the time
2. Circumstances socially determined
 - a) Extra-linguistic group-habits (e.g., customs, such as taboo or courtesy)
 - b) Linguistic patterns (the language of the community)

In linguistics we know that the factors under (2b) are not to be explained on an individual basis, be it in mentalistic or in any other terminology; the facts of historical (and even of descriptive) grammar here involved are entirely foreign to the individual. He talks as he has heard others talk. The facts under (2a) are similarly viewed by ethnology and the other social sciences.

Let me now state the hypothesis which, I believe, removes the dissonance between the linguistic's psychologic theory and his technical practice: If the other social sciences were developed, let us not

say to an ideal point, but merely to the point which linguistics has reached, the socially determined factors (2a) would be seen to encroach upon the personal factors (1b) until these latter would be reduced to purely physiologic terms: the momentary condition of the speaker's body.

The social patterns, linguistic and other, are, of course, merely an abstraction. They are the features common to a vast number of individual actions, in each of which appear also individual features. If we do not make this abstraction, two courses are open to us. We may study the individual from earliest infancy, when his acts are entirely explicable by (1), and observe how successive actions of his group-mates (parents, etc.), act by act, "condition" him to the social habits (2). This is individual psychology. Had we a perfect equipment for the study of physiology, we could make these observations on a physical plane, observing the modifications in the protoplasm (nervous structure, etc.) from act to act. Or, we may study the group, observing every act of a given type (e.g., every utterance of the word *centum*), with a view to the manner of transmission and to the modifications in the course of time. This is social psychology.

Linguistics does neither of these things, but remains upon the plane of abstraction. We do not trace all the vocal utterances of an individual from birth, be it in physiologic terms or in linguistic. We do not trace the usage of a linguistic form in a community, act by act. Once the individual has acquired the habit of using a certain linguistic form, we assume that under certain constellations of (1a), (1b), and (2a) he will utter it. Given the existence of a certain linguistic form in a community, we assume that it is spoken under such constellations, and concern ourselves only with its place in the total linguistic pattern and with its gradual modifications.

All this, including our diagram, holds good also for the hearer of a speech utterance. Should it happen that a few whispered words stir him to violent activity, we do not study the precedent storing-up of physico-chemical energy in his body, or the manner of its touching-off by a slight change; we do not study the precedent physiologic modifications (neurologic) of the individual, thanks to which just these slight sound stimuli act as the match to the gunpowder. Not even the psychologist does this. Just as the biologist is interested in a certain cor-

relation of certain physico-chemical units, which correlation may be greatly modified by a very slight chemical change, so here the psychologist is interested in a certain correlation of biologic individuals (society), which correlation may be greatly modified by a very slight physiologic change. A ranting tirade may strike the eardrums and cause but a smile, a few whispered words the tragedy of Othello. The linguist goes not even so far; he concerns himself with an abstraction: the features of ensuing conduct common to "all" hearers of a given form, and their historic modification—meaning and semantic change.

Given an ideal equipment, we could thus describe any human act: The physiologist gives an account which includes the individual's predisposition (channels of nervous discharge) due to earlier stimulations and responses; the psychologist traces the formation of this predisposition, act by act, from the individual's birth; the social psychologist identifies the persons who were concerned in these earlier stimulations and through them traces the ancestry of this type of act; the linguist defines those features of the act (grammatical) which are habitual in the group, places them in the habit system (language), and traces their history; other social scientists in their sphere parallel the linguist.

This hypothesis assumes for the other human sciences a development comparable to that of linguistics; for psychology it implies the postulates of behaviorism.

In this I follow A. P. Weiss, whose psychology takes account of linguistics. For Weiss, the social group is an organism of a higher order than the many-celled biologic individual. Just as the unity of the latter is conditioned upon the interaction of many cells, so the unity of the social group upon the interaction of many individuals, primarily through language.¹

Since a psychology is not necessary in linguistics, this statement might stand merely as a sketch of what I take to be the implications of the actual practice, in purely linguistic problems, of all linguists, whatever be their views on psychology. It has been made here, however, for two further reasons. In discussing certain fundamental problems, such as that of meaning, which could be dealt with by postu-

¹ See A. P. Weiss, *A Theoretical Basis of Human Behavior*, Columbus, 1925; on language, also *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method*, XV, 631. For the general system see *ibid.*, XVI, 626; *Psychological Review*, XXIV, 301, 353; XXVI, 327; XXXII, 83, 171.

lates, linguists are accustomed to appeal directly to psychology. And second, every now and then, before some knotty problem, a linguist will lay down the long-tried tools of his trade, not to sharpen or improve them, but to resort instead, for the nonce, to incantations about whose value no two even of the psychologic shamans will agree.

II. THE PROBLEM OF MEANING

The meaning of a word is defined in dictionaries and in the practice of linguists as if the object were always present when the word is spoken, e.g., *apple*: "the well-known firm-fleshed, smooth-skinned, round or oblong pome fruit of trees of the genus *Malus*, varying greatly in size, shape, color, and degree of acidity."¹ That is, the sounds *apple* are our conventional reaction to the sight, feel, smell, and taste of this object. But in reality we utter the sounds *apple* very often when no apple is present. Many of our words, indeed, stand at some remove from any actual sense stimulus, e.g., *although*, *causality*. In what way does the word *apple* "mean" or "refer to" an apple, when none is present? Why is the dictionary definition nevertheless sufficient? This problem is psychologic rather than linguistic and is for our science best dealt with by some convenient postulate. It is, of course, solved with magic ease if we are satisfied with the answer that, when the physical apple is not present, a "mental image" or "concept" of an apple takes its place.

That is why C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards² take us not one step ahead; on page 14 the authors give a triangular diagram with the apices "Referent" (in our illustration, the actual, physical apple), "Thought or Reference" (image, concept, or thought of an apple), and "Symbol" (the word *apple*). For psychology or linguistics the book might as well end at this point; it further contains, strangely enough, much warning and example of popular terms posing as things; also some good advice ("Canons of Symbolism") in the spirit of normative logic.

De Saussure's system is more complex: (1) actual object, (2) concept, (3) acoustic image, (4) speech utterance; the series to be reversed for a hearer (p. 28). The totality of this is *le langage*; the actual speech

¹ *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 1920.

² *The Meaning of Meaning*, New York, 1923.

utterance is *la parole*; and the segment formed by the two purely mental terms (2) and (3) is *la langue*, the socially uniform language pattern. De Saussure's careful statement lays clear the point at issue: What he calls "mental" is exactly what he and all other linguists call "social"; there is no need for the popular finalistic terms. We shall do better to drop (2) and (3) and speak instead of a socially determined correspondence between certain features of (1) and (4).

In his actual practice, de Saussure strictly rules out the metaphysical terms. Thus he warns us (p. 30): "La langue n'est pas une fonction du sujet parlant, elle est le produit que l'individu enregistre passivement; elle ne suppose jamais de pré-méditation, et la réflexion n'y intervient que pour l'activité de classement dont il sera question p. 170 sv."¹ Or again, Osthoff's explanation² of verbal first members of compounds arising in several Indo-European languages, an explanation typical of the linguist's avoidance of mentalism, is for de Saussure paradigmatic (p. 195); he recalls it in his final summary: (p. 311):

Autre exemple: l'indo-européen primitif ne connaissait pas de composés à premier élément verbal. Si l'allemand en possède (cf. *Bethaus, Springbrunnen*, etc.) faut-il croire qu'à un moment donné les Germains ont modifié un mode de pensée hérité de leurs ancêtres? Nous avons vu que cette innovation est due à un hasard non seulement matériel, mais encore négatif: la suppression de l'*a* dans *betahūs* (voir p. 195). Tout s'est passé hors de l'esprit. ...

The solution of the problem of meaning will doubtless lie in the psychologist's study of substitute stimuli: Under what conditions does the child, when learning to speak, first say *apple* in the absence of an apple? But here again the study will be largely social, for we may suspect that to a large extent the function of substitute stimuli is determined by social tradition.

III. THE PHONEME

Formulation of the fact that each language consists of a strictly limited number of sound types, each of which is, for the language, absolutely uniform and absolutely distinct from the others, has often forced itself upon linguists in the needs of practical work, and as often been forgotten. The phoneme is an abstraction obtained from series of utterances, e.g., the English phoneme [t] from [tin, win, pin], etc.,

¹ The exception is there not stated as such, but seems to be this, that the individual is free to associate various related forms with any given form.

² *Das Verbum in der Nominalcomposition*, Jena, 1878.

and [tin, tuk, it], etc. An ear trained to other languages will hear differences between the [t]'s of [tik, stik, botr, bit] which are not distinctive, that is, in English non-linguistic. The same ear may fail to hear the difference between [bit] and [bid] which is, in English, distinctive. The notion has been developed by Sweet,¹ Jones,² and, no doubt independently, by Boas (p. 16), de Saussure (p. 63), and Sapir (p. 57).

The existence of phonemes is of course implied in even the roughest syllabic or alphabetic writing and in all study of language. But its explicit statement not only guards the linguist against occasional lapses ("The articulation of the sound is slightly weaker . . ." or "The difference between phoneme *a* and phoneme *b* is so slight that perhaps . . ."), but justifies the very existence of our science. The logical demand that a science speak in quantitative terms is met by linguistics because it speaks in terms of phonemes; for the phonemes of a language we could substitute an equal number of units of any kind (Sapir, p. 18). Without them we should be in the position of the Indian informant who told me, "This word has a kind of a cold sound"; he could not say, "This word consists of such and such of the basic phonemes of my language arranged in such and such sequence." No wonder that the earlier linguists spoke in terms of "letters"; the actual continuum of speech sound (*la parole*) was not what they meant, and they had no term for the abstraction of the socially determined features of this sound continuum.

IV. DESCRIPTIVE LINGUISTICS

Paul (p. 20) maintained, against Wundt,³ that there was no scientific use in the mere description of a language; history was the only object of linguistics. This fallacy was possible because most Indo-Europeanists spoke a Germanic language and knew Latin and Greek from school and Sanskrit from grammars ultimately based on Panini. They were inconsistent enough to accept descriptive grammars for other languages,⁴ and, perhaps without realizing it, they incorporated a great deal of descriptive work into their historical research. Since

¹ *Practical Study*.

² *Principles of the International Phonetic Association*, London, 1912; cf. S. K. Chatterji, *A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics*, London, 1921, reprinted from the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. II, Part I.

³ E.g., *Sprachgeschichte*, p. 32.

⁴ E.g., Vendryes, *Grammaire du vieil irlandais*, Paris, 1908; A. Leskien, *Handbuch der altbulgarischen Sprache*, Weimar, 1871; 4th ed., 1905.

then, the study of less-known speech families has made it clear that a historic or comparative research depends upon the existence of two or more sets of descriptive data. Practice shows that descriptive study involves the full measure of scientific generalization and classification; only by a scientific process can one abstract from a series of actual speech utterances the socially determined features and their systematic patterning. Today descriptive linguistics is thus recognized beside historical, or rather as precedent to it. The theoretical justification is given especially by Finck,¹ and by de Saussure, who outlines the relation of "synchronic" to "diachronic" linguistics (p. 114).

The practice of descriptive research reveals some problems which were obscured under preoccupation with historical problems in relatively well-known languages. Given a linguistic form, such as an inflection or a word, how can we state its meaning? We have seen that this will be done in the form of what we may call the "primary" or "dictionary" meaning; but, within this limitation, what terms are available? Wherever the meaning is an object defined by some science, the answer is simple. Thus, for a plant name we need only give the botanical names of all the species for which the word is used. The same solution exists for a few abstract meanings, such as the numerals. In most instances, however, the stimulus components which lead to the utterance of a form and the relevant components of the hearers' responses are very hard to isolate. We must abstract them after observing a large number of utterances. The meanings so reached often bear a very complex relation to any objects that can be scientifically defined; thus, one term of relationship may mean, "my mother's brother, my paternal grandmother's brother, the son of either, the son's son of either," and so on, with some troublesome refinements. In the case of social situations, such as degrees of affection, respect, or friendship, the comparable terms of the investigator's own language are misleading. Here the solution may come if some science gives us a precise terminology for the relations involved. Thus, a mysterious word for "friend" may, under improved ethnologic information, turn out to mean, "person of my sex who has gone through such and such a rite together with me."

The case of grammatical categories is even worse, because here

¹ *Die Sprachwissenschaft*.

the meaning often does not correspond to anything scientifically delimitable outside of linguistics, or to any habitual pattern of tribal action other than the grammatical habit. The gender system of animate and inanimate in an Algonquian language, for instance, includes among the animates some things which we do not regard as living, e.g., "stone," "pipe," "raspberry" (but not "strawberry"), "knee" (but not "elbow"), and ethnologic observation shows that the speakers do not (except in the grammatical forms of their language) make any differential distinctions; they neither say, "A raspberry has life, a strawberry has not," nor make a corresponding difference in any other way, as, for instance, in food habits or in religious ceremony. Here, assuming that the category of noun has been defined, we can at any rate list the animate names of things which our own tribal habit (science) declares lifeless, or, better, of those which the speakers themselves in some decisive non-linguistic activity treat as lifeless. But in the case, say, of a verbal tense or aspect, we are in a worse position still. A list of typical locutions seems to be about the best we can do. The path of investigation lies, evidently, in the preparation and comparison of such lists. This is the object of Jespersen's *Philosophy of Grammar*, an examination of the grammatical categories of the better-known European languages, worked out with marvelous detail and sensitiveness.

This leads to the problem of general grammar. Which, if any, linguistic forms are universal, which widespread? Nearly every language (modern Chinese may be an exception) has two main types of break in the semantic nexus—words and formatives. Wundt attempted to deal with this; the word boundary was defined by an act of apperception (or rather, by its occasional occurrence),¹ that of formatives was associatively determined. This was mere verbal duplication of the terms "word" and "formative." Similarly, the various syntactic devices can be studied for all language: cross-reference (*puella cantat*, "the-girl she-sings"), congruence, government, connective particles ("red and blue"), word order. Such study presupposes data for as many languages as possible; in fact, very few have been adequately recorded or described. A survey and bibliography are attempted in the books of Meillet and Cohen and of Schmidt.

¹ *TAPA*, XLV, 65.

V. ECOLOGY

A summary of work on the distribution of dialects is given by Roedder.¹ The boundaries of successive linguistic changes (isogloss lines) do not coincide. A linguistic change may cover territory that has been dialectally differentiated by earlier changes. Isoglosses may be bundled along barriers to communication; if the barrier (e.g., a political boundary) is removed, the isoglossic bundle may be overlaid by later linguistic development. The isoglosses may be obscured also by linguistic borrowing; especially if a standard language arises, gradual borrowing may entirely obscure the line, for instance, of a phonetic change.² As the schematic example of dialect differentiation never occurs, and all the complexities of linguistic change are involved, the need in this problem is for large-scale co-operation. Above all, descriptive records of local speech forms are needed. As training for a beginner in linguistics, the recording of texts and the descriptive analysis of a dialect would be better than most of our doctoral problems.

One of the points here mentioned deserves further precision, though, so far as I know, it has nowhere been worked out: the character of standard and literary languages. Let us assume that the dialect of a class in some center (e.g., the upper class of London) becomes a standard language for a large group of speakers to whom other dialects are native. The standard language becomes the native speech, as time goes on, of a larger and larger number of speakers. As such we must, no doubt, suppose that it is subject to ordinary linguistic change and eventually even to dialectal differentiation. But, meanwhile, it is subject to some additional vicissitudes.

At the time when it becomes native to a new group of speakers, these may yet preserve in it certain features of their former dialect.

Or, the standard language may gain new ground by gradual infiltration: form by form and word by word the substance of a dialect may be gradually replaced by standard speech, until the result is describable only as "standard with dialect features" or as "one of the types of standard resulting from secondary dialectal differentiation of the standard itself"—although these descriptions belie the historical

¹ *Germanic Review*, I, 281.

² Cf. Sturtevant, p. 79; Vendryes, p. 53 (here clearly expressed, but on p. 52 confused with the phonetic change itself).

process. Thus, our central type of American standard, like all standard English, keeps the group [rs], as in *horse, nurse, worse*.¹ Like the other forms of standard, it jocularly uses *cuss, hoss* as dialectal foreign words, and has the word *bass* (OE *baers, bears*) as an older loan from a dialect; but, beyond this, it has the taboo word [es] OE *aers, ears*, in which the other types of standard keep [rs]. This suggests that our type of standard may go back to a gradually and never quite completely standardized dialect which spoke [s] for [rs].

On the other hand, the standard borrows forms, in normal fashion, from the dialects, e.g., *vat, vixen*; it need not here concern us whether these were ever foreign words with the connotation of rusticity or jocularity.

A group of dialect speakers with imperfect command of the standard may become so powerful as to crowd out (archaize) some standard forms during the generation or two it takes them to become genuine speakers of standard. This, rather than normal linguistic change, is perhaps killing the form *whom*.²

A literary standard is influenced by the graphic form. The normal literate speaker believes, of course, that the written form is a model which determines or at least preserves the spoken. This belief may be due in part to certain real experiences; the literate and even the semi-literate speaker actually obtains some of his speech material by linguistic borrowing from written records. The frequency of this may be guessed at from the occurrence of exceptional cases in which he misinterprets the (often ambiguous) written form and "mispronounces" it. Successful and socialized, these oblique loans from written speech are, of course, spelling pronunciations (*author, Gothic, Lithuanian*). Communities which have preserved an old written standard divergent enough to make loans recognizable, e.g., India and the Latin countries, give us an indication, in their *tatsama's* and *mots savants*, of how copious this borrowing really is.

Taking all this into consideration, one may, to suggest an extreme possibility, ask: Do literate standards, like ours, ever make a normal linguistic change that is not being made at the same time by the un-

¹ The fact that our standard has inverted [r], while in other types the actual form of this phoneme is a mixed vowel or modification of a preceding vowel, need not here concern us.

² Sapir, p. 166.

derlying population of dialect and semi-dialect speakers? Are not most of their apparent changes really borrowings, be it of single forms or on a large scale (transfer, infiltration), from the dialects, and counter-borrowings from the written form?¹

VI. DO PHONEMES CHANGE?

If each language at any given time moves within a limited number of phonemes, and these phonemes are subject to change in the course of time, then no word can be excepted from such change. For a word excepted from such change would thereafter contain an otherwise not current sound. Primitive Indo-European [k] appears in English as [h] (*centum*: *hund*); had some words been excepted on the way, we should now be speaking them with intermediate sounds, such as [kx] or [x]. Since forms which contradict the general sound development never exhibit sounds intermediate between the normal phonemes, but only an unexpected grouping of these, we cannot explain them as due to deviations from sound change. Two types of explanation are used. The divergent form does not go back to the supposed ancestor, but is an analogic extension of another form, e.g., English *live* does not represent OE *libban*, but the stem of OE *lifað*, *lifede*, *lifodon*, etc., which was at some time generalized; *to lib* and *to live* competed; finally the latter conquered. Or, the divergent form was borrowed from a different dialect; for the phonemes of this dialect the nearest phonemes of the home dialect were substituted; these, of course, need not be the historically correspondent phonemes; e.g., my dialect says [rɛðr] *rather*; I now borrow the Englishman's [raðə]; for his trilled [r] I substitute my inverted [r], for his [ə] my inverted [r] syllabic, and for his [a] the nearest vowel of my dialect, that of *bother*, *hot*, etc. Two of these substitutions reproduce the historical correspondence, but the third does not; I now speak *rather* with the vowel of *bother*, *hot*, where the historian would expect me to use that of *man*, *bad*.

The alternative would be to drop the theory of gradual change in phonemes and define sound change instead as a sudden replacement of one phoneme by another. History and dialectal fact forbid this. It is therefore hard to assign any concrete meaning to statements like that of Jespersen: "Sometimes, when all ordinary words are affected

¹ In this domain the greatest contribution is doubtless that of H. C. Wylde, *History of Modern Colloquial English*, London, 1920.

by a certain sound-change, some words prove refractory because in their case the old sound is found to be more expressive than the new one."¹ Thus, English *peep* (for cry of small bird) is supposed to have resisted the English vowel shift, and *cuckoo* (p. 406) the pre-Germanic consonant shift.²

The commonest fallacy in this matter is to confuse the conflict of doublets due to analogy and to borrowing with the process of sound change. The speakers who hesitated between *lib* and *live* were not, and the American speakers who pass from [reðr] to [raðr] are not making a sound change. This fallacy is most frequent where the examples are taken from a standard language with a complex history of dialect mixture and borrowing from graphic records. A favorite instance is the modern representation of OE ð as [uw]: *do, moon, soot*; as [u]: *foot, book, soot*; and as [o]: *blood, flood, soot*. Methodically, the first step here must be the recognition of the fact that the divergent forms have phonemes otherwise current in the language (*wolf, pull; son, love*); they could not, except by a chain of most improbable coincidences, result from deviations at odd points of a phonetic change.

The forms with [o] diverge at least as early as the sixteenth century, those with [u] somewhat later. If we were dealing with an isolated one-dialect community, these forms would be surprising, but, even here, explicable:

1. In ME long vowels were shortened before certain final consonants, giving paradigms like [sut, su:tes].
2. On the analogy of nouns with one stem form, two paradigms are created: [sut, sutes] and [su:t, su:tes].
3. Sound change of [u] to [o]; we now have [sot, sotes] and [su:t, su:tes].
4. In early modern time long vowels were (again) shortened before certain final consonants, giving paradigms like [sut, su:tes].
5. This results by analogic change in two paradigms: [sut, sutes] and [su:t, su:tes], beside the older [sot, sotes].

Thus, today, we have three forms for *soot* [suwt, sut, sot]; in other instances one or two of the forms have become obsolete.

Now this diagram is doubtless incorrect; the vastly more complex

¹ *Language*, p. 288.

² I confused these two examples (*AJP*, XL, 372) I hope without prejudice to the argument.

conditions of standard English make it very hard, if not impossible, to find out what really did happen. But so far as theory is concerned, every added complication that we may suspect only lessens the value of such examples as an argument for sporadic sound change. Any of the standard forms may have had an eventful history of borrowing, conflict, restoration from the graphic model, and so on. To state an extreme possibility: It may be that changes (1, 2, 4, 5) never occurred in standard English or in its upper-class-of-London ancestry, that every single form with [u] or [o] is a borrowing from other dialects. On the other hand, some of the forms with [uw] may be borrowings from the written form replacing older forms with [o] or [u].¹

The much-quoted example of [juw] and [uw], as in *tune*, *due*² does not illustrate sound change, but the passing of speakers from one class dialect to another. In 1787 Elphinston attributes the forms without [j] to "vulgar indolence or bluntness."³ We could not ask for more explicit evidence; the present-day phenomenon is not a sound-change in progress, but a conflict between doublets which were dialectally differentiated as early as the eighteenth century. The actual sound changes here involved lie far in the past. They may never have taken place in standard English and the changed forms may have been borrowed from dialects. Or, they may have occurred in standard and the [juw] forms may be borrowings from the written record (spelling-pronunciation; cf. Wyld, p. 293). In the latter case, for instance, the history may have been:

1. Sound change: [sju:r]>[ʃu:r], *sure*
 [sju:]>[ʃu:], *sue*
 [tju:n]>[ču:n], *tune*
 [dju:]>[j̄u:] *dew*, *due*
2. Standard borrows from written form: [sjuw, tjuwn, djuw]
3. Sound change: [sjuw]>[suw]
 [tjuwn]>[tuwn]
 [djuw]>[duw]
4. Middle-class standard borrows from written form: [sjuw, tjuwn, djuw]

I have dealt at such length with these matters, which could be settled only by specialized research, coupled with lucky finds, because even on the basis of what little we know, it is clear that the waverings or final arrivals of speakers cannot be viewed as examples of sound

¹ Cf. Wyld, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-39.

² Jespersen, *Language*, p. 290.

³ Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar* (Heidelberg, 1909), I, 382.

change. The very fact of a speaker's using two forms is proof of precedent analogic change or borrowing. The alternative hypothesis is not a self-contradictory dilution of the postulate of phonetic change, but the total abandonment of this postulate.

Another attack upon the postulate of uniform change of phonemes is that of Horn: Some elements of speech, unnecessary for the sense, have a weaker meaning than others and, consequently, are more subject to loss by phonetic change. Inversely, an element whose meaning is essential resists sound change (p. 24). This theory is revolutionary in that it makes the hitherto otiose mentalistic factors play an actual part in linguistic change.

Horn seeks to fortify his position by saying that his theory is not invalidated even if some of his examples can be explained in some other way (p. iv). In this he is wrong; methodically, any example which can be explained by those methods which even for Horn cover the vast majority of linguistic changes must be subtracted from the evidence for his supplementary theory. It is more legitimate when Horn says (p. 25) that not every overcharacterization necessarily leads to phonetic weakening of the superfluous elements, since every language carries on a mass of superfluous forms.

Strangely, Horn nowhere takes cognizance of the fact that practically all of his examples are taken from the unstressed syllables of languages which historically have suffered phonetic loss in this position: Germanic, early Latin, early French.¹ Obviously, a theory which attributes these weakenings, wholly or in part, to any other factor than the stress relations, could make good only on the strength of examples from languages where this factor is absent. Horn gives no clear ones. Some of Horn's examples have not, as to details, been explained under the standard theory. But the fact that we are not omniscient, that some of the history, what with our meager data, is obscure to us, is no warrant for a finalistic hypothesis which, by its very nature, is certain to "explain" anything: the weakened forms were weakened first in "meaning," then in "form."

If we turn to languages which we can observe, we find no signs of feebleness in forms whose meaning, from a logical point of view, is superfluous. Nothing could be (mathematically) more superfluous than the personal inflection of the verb in modern English, German, or

¹ See Luick, *E. Stud.*, LVI, 185.

French. It is lacking in English in some common verbs (*he can, shall, will, may, must*), and in all preterits except *was: were*. Yet the speakers are in no position to drop these endings. Linguistic forms are carried on by tradition; they are not subject to any logical test, under which few, indeed, could pass muster.

In a large group of the cases I cannot believe even Horn to mean that the shortening represents phonetic change, cases like *quad* for *quadrangle* (p. 12), *hand-to-mouth* for *from hand to mouth* (p. 97). Here analogy and borrowing are the only possible factors; e.g., *prof* after the graphic form *Prof.*, and then analogic *quad* for *quadrangle*, *stude* for *student*, etc.

Some of the examples really are phonetic developments; the longer forms are analogic restorations, e.g., MHG *vliesen* (p. 7) shows the phonetic development, as do *gleich*, *glauben*, etc.; NHG *verlieren* has analogic *ver-* ("destruction, loss, removal"). OE *a-* represents older **oz-* before consonant; OHG *za-* is the anteconsonantal form of *zar-*.

Horn says (p. 23) that OE *bindu* cannot have analogic *-u* after *beru*, because the corresponding transfer was not made in nouns, *ār: gifu; word: fatu*. This is asking a great deal, especially as in historic time the verb form and not the noun replaces *-u* by analogic *-e*. He says (p. 22) that OE *binde wē, binde gē* weakened the verb ending because it and the following pronoun expressed the same meaning, so that it was superfluous; but, as Horn sees (p. 121), the verb plural had the same ending for all three persons—the pronoun, whatever its position, gave no "overcharacterization." Wood's explanation¹ is far more credible, especially as in Alfredian English the ordinary optative plural often ends in *-e*.

Of the ON third person singular in *-r*, Horn says (p. 27) that the second person is common in everyday speech; when the pronouns had made the distinction unnecessary, the endings could drop off or the endings of one person be transferred to another. Let him try that in German!

Horn ascribes the non-inflection of the English article to the existence of circumlocutions (chiefly prepositional, no doubt) and fixed word order, and says that German, by contrast, has kept the inflections because these constructions are not used. This looks well on

¹ *MP*, XIV, 122.

paper, but will not hold under observation of the facts. In reality the two languages are in this respect almost wholly alike; for instance, where German uses a dative without a preposition, English also often lacks the preposition, and the word order is here the same in both languages: even *Er gab es mir*, *Er gab mir es* is paralleled in *He gave it me*, *He gave me it*. After prepositions, says Horn, the article, being superfluous, is weakened in German; but, look you, it is just the "superfluous" part which remains (*ums Haus*)!

The only examples which are in principle unexplained are formulas of greeting and address, such as *goodbye* (cf. [hwaj] for *How are you?*), German *morjn* (for *guten Morgen*), Russian *s* (for *sudar*), Spanish *usted* (for *vuestra merced*).¹ To say that they were weakened because they were weak in the speaker's mind is at best a tautology; a real explanation may some day be found.

The analogy of atrophy of an organ (p. 137) is particularly inept, quite as bad as was the old-time one of an object being worn away by much handling.

The teleologic basis for the theory seems to be this (cf. p. 117): If the inflectional syllables, e.g., in Old English, had been lost before the analytic locutions (especially prepositional) had arisen, the language would have become unintelligible. The answer is, obviously, that this happens right along; new locutions (produced by the analogies of the language) constantly replace old ones, which, viewed *post factum*, would have been unintelligible, had they remained in use. If only phonetic change occurred, every language would in time become unintelligible. The methodic question would be: At what point do the new locutions arise, and at what point do the old ones go out of use? Instead of resorting to a hypothesis that would cause trouble even to a mentalistic theory of speech, Horn would have done better to raise the question of a pathology of language.

VII. THE PATHOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

The fact that languages do not become unintelligible seems queer when one embarks upon reasoning such as underlies the views of Jespersen and Horn. If sound change works blindly, how is it that the loss of inflections, for instance, does not cause confusion? We have seen the teleologic answer.

¹ Horn, p. 18.

The chief factor, from this angle, is homonymy due to sound change. J. Gilliéron¹ thus approaches it; E. Richter² summarizes past work.

Some homonyms are tolerated, witness the gradual syncretism of nominative and accusative in Germanic; modern German still distinguishes them in masculine singulars and a few pronouns, English only in a few pronouns. Note also English [pejr, bejr, hejr, red], etc. Others have been removed or are evidently disappearing: Latin *apis* and *avis* in certain French dialects; OE *bere*, "barley," and *bēor*, "beer," in English; English *might*, *mite* and *let*, "allow" and "hinder." Chinese has gone notably far; its homonymous words have been largely replaced by two-word phrases.³

Another factor is taboo.⁴ English [konij], "rabbit," seems to have been lost because of homonymy with a taboo word.⁵ American English [kuk], "rooster"; [es], "donkey," seem to be meeting a similar fate.

Grammatical irregularity is a well-known factor, as in the replacement of the morphologically divergent [hozif, semstris, farid] by [haus-waif, sijmstris, fowr-hed]; a form of one category that sounds like another seems to be endangered: English *pease* taken as plural; American dialect *link* "lynx."

Instead of asking, however, which forms of a language are "bad," we shall be more relevant if we ask which forms of a language go out of use. We understand the rise of analogic doublets, such as *hoofs* beside *hooves*; we have scarcely touched the question: Under what circumstances do such doublets arise, and which wins, which becomes obsolete? When the question is put in this form, we see that we are merely making a study of analogic change.⁶

¹ *Pathologie et thérapeutique verbales* (Paris, 1921), "Collection linguistique," Vol. XI.

² *Festschrift für Kretschmer* (Vienna, 1926), p. 167.

³ C. Arendt, *Handbuch der nordchinesischen Umgangssprache* (Berlin, 1891), p. 165; cf. B. Karlgren, *Études sur la phonologie chinoise*, Leyden, 1915.

See also Singer, *PBB*, XLVIII, 132.

⁴ Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* (Paris, 1921), "Collection linguistique," VIII, 281.

⁵ Cf. *NED*, s.v. "coney."

⁶ So far as psychology is concerned, it would be facile and barren to attribute the therapeutic to a prevision on the part of speaker or tribe. "Prevision" would be here only another name for the fact that the troublesome forms do obsolesce. We must seek, rather, the circumstances which make the obsolescent form a response to a more and more limited number of stimuli, e.g., *Don't let him!* only to the situation where we want to stop someone, and no longer to the situation where we want to aid him. But we shall do better to confine ourselves to the linguistic facts.

It appears that the factors which militate against a form are limited types of homonymy (probably differing for different languages), incongruity with the grammatical pattern (e.g., irregularities of inflection), and taboo or homonymy with taboo forms; the chief factor favoring a form seems to be frequency (i.e., the commoner forms preserve grammatical irregularities which in less common words are analogically removed).

Under analogic doublets we must understand not only the morphologic, but also lexical alternates (*cock, rooster*) and phrasal groups (*contribute my mite, make my small contribution*).

VIII. APPLICATIONS

The application of the results of linguistics to psychology has been discussed. The application to other social sciences is a thing of the future. The mentalist will say that the other social activities move upon a higher plane, in which intelligent choice and conscious striving are effective, language upon a mechanical and unconscious level. Under the hypothesis above suggested (§ I), one will say, rather, that language is a simpler activity, and that linguistics, owing to its simpler subject matter, has reached a scientific form of discourse, while the other human sciences are still to a large extent troubled with the elusive spiritistic-teleologic words of our tribal speech.

Attempts at application are likely to consist of purely verbal concessions to the finalism of the other sciences. Thus, the essentially impeccable technique, illustrated by well-chosen examples, of Vendryes, is marred at every step by verbal concessions to the non-linguistic view of man and society.¹

Another possibility is that of oversimplification. Thus, Father Schmidt (p. 381) assumes a universally valid concept of "genitive," examines all languages to see whether the genitive precedes or follows its governing word, assumes in ethnology a similar concept of "matriarchate" (*Mutterrecht*), and shows (p. 453) that postposition of the genitive runs parallel, as a resultant, with matriarchate.

¹ E.g., p. 45 (Grimm's law): "une tendance naturelle ... l'aboutissement naturel"; p. 46: "les spirantes sonores, par une sorte de reprise du sujet parlant, réagissent contre l'affaiblissement qui les atteint et deviennent des occlusives sonores"; p. 71: "Deux tendances opposées peuvent agir. ... Ou bien par paresse le sujet parlant se dispensera d'effectuer l'articulation. ... Ou bien, dans le désir de maintenir l'articulation. ..." There is so much of this that the book would do more harm than good to any but a professional reader.

The chief scientific application of linguistics that can today be made is the direct one to psychology. Indirectly, as a paradigmatic example and as a demonstration of the needlessness of finalism, our results will serve the other human sciences, but this service is limited because their subject matter is far more complex than ours.

The practical application concerns many activities, such as teaching children to read, teaching foreign languages, stenography, etc. All these can be summed up in the demand that our knowledge about human speech be applied to the educational process and be included in the content of education. Unfortunately our educators are ignorant of the results of linguistic science, and seem in no hurry to inform themselves. Prescientific notions about language, with the silly and dismal study of pseudo-grammar, still prevail in our schools, cf. G. Willis, *The Philosophy of Speech*, New York, n.d. Willis' book, for the rest, shows how little linguistic science has affected society; the author, who must have spent years at the study of Greek, Latin, and the modern languages, develops a linguistic of his own, as though no one had studied the subject before him—with the natural grotesque results.¹

What with the publications of the last decade, there is today no good reason for popular ignorance about language, no excuse for our failing to embody into our culture the results of linguistic science.

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¹ E.g., p. 26: "'Luck,' German 'glück,' English 'to click for,' an imitation of the sound of the tossed coin struck on the table."

REVIEWS

El pensamiento de Cervantes. Revista de Filología española—Anejo VI. By AMÉRICO CASTRO. Madrid: Casa Editorial Hernando, 1925.

One's first thought on concluding the reading of this stimulating book is that compared to it all previous criticism of Cervantes appears shallow. Américo Castro has been known chiefly for solid work in linguistics. This training saves him from the pitfall of superficiality, while lack of pedantry and charm of style have enabled him to produce a work as readable as any. Few critics of literature possess the patience to collect data before pronouncing judgment. Certain striking passages linger in the memory, and impressionistic judgments are thereon based to the exclusion of equally significant, and possibly contradictory, passages. Castro, however, before expressing an opinion, has collected, compared, and weighed every passage in which his author treats of the point in question. But his documentation is no less complete in the case of other writers who influenced Cervantes' thought: Bruno, Pomponazzi, León Hebreo, Castiglione, Erasmus, and the rest. For the first time Cervantes has been presented in his proper relationship to Renaissance thought. A philologist is surely the best of literary critics, when to method is added discernment and taste. A second thought: One wonders that the commentators who have so copiously illustrated Cervantes' works have achieved so little. They elucidate difficulties of language; they track down sources and analogues of this and that folklore motive; they traverse the weary wastes of the Romances of Chivalry to indicate the originals of passages parodied; but what one of them has sought to show the genesis of Cervantes' ideas?

If they have failed in this respect, it was because Cervantes was supposed to lack ideas worth tracing. He was the "lay genius," the man of scant education, kind of heart, and endowed with much common sense, but orthodox in his acceptance of prevailing views. This picture of the man Castro vigorously assails. Cervantes was a lay genius only in the sense that he lacked a university degree. His hatred of pedantic display caused his learning to be underestimated, but his restlessly curious mind was ever open to new ideas. He was an omnivorous reader. He devoured everything procurable in Spanish, Italian, and Latin, not merely works of light entertainment, but philosophy as well. Castro has incidentally indicated many a new source and vastly enlarged our knowledge of Cervantes' reading. He does not emerge an original thinker. He was no creator of systems. But we now know

that he had a speculative mind, was fully abreast of the thought of his age, and constantly sought to apply the same. He was far from orthodox. "The residence in Italy was the most important fact in Cervantes' spiritual career," writes Castro. The new Cervantes is far more Italian, hence more European, than the old, and this explains his universality.

Properly to understand the philosophy and art of Cervantes one must first of all recall that he is not a writer of the Renaissance, but of the period of the Catholic Reaction. Those writers who flourished subsequently to the Council of Trent no longer possessed the privilege of untrammeled utterance. Orthodoxy was reasserting its claims. But many daring souls, who like Cervantes refused to stay muzzled, took refuge in Pomponazzi's formula of the double truth. According to this doctrine there are two distinct forms of truth, the truth of faith and the truth of reason. Accept without cavil the tenets of the church, but, having done so, give rationalism free play. These two forms of truth may at times seem at variance; but there must be a way of reconciling them in a higher synthesis beyond the ken of mortals. Some philosophers made hypocritical use of this formula. Cervantes, too, may have done so at times; but in the main he is sincere. He passed through life puzzled by the conflicting claims of dogma and rationalism.

Almost simultaneously Robortello's edition of Aristotle, in 1548, initiates a parallel movement in letters. The Stagirite began to eclipse Plato. Literature began to be regularized out of its former chaos. On the one hand, dogma; on the other, literary rules and precepts. In the domain of letters, Cervantes found himself in the center of the conflict waged between the advocates of *la verdad universal y verosímil* and the upholders of *la verdad sensible y particular*. The Council of Trent had attacked works of unbridled imagination. Thus the church was behind Cervantes in his onslaught upon the Romances of Chivalry, and a premium was placed upon realism. But Aristotle had taught that only the historian described life and nature as it is; the poet must reveal things as they should be. These two literary attitudes correspond closely to Pomponazzi's two forms of truth. Everywhere one encounters dualism in Cervantes. "This wavering," writes Castro, "between the 'should be' and the 'is' or 'may be' explains the often antagonistic postures of the Cervantine thought, which acts like an immense pendulum." His prismatic genius, constantly in conflict between his love for the idealistic and universal on the one hand and fidelity to realism on the other, explains how the hand which penned the *Galatea* also wrote the *Entremeses*. In *Don Quijote*, the two methods are synthesized and dramatically contrasted.

No less dramatic is his representation of conflicting aspects of reality. He departs from the older conception that the brain is but a passive instrument to record external impressions. Rather is it active in coloring the external. What we take to be objective may be subjective. Erasmus, like many another who followed the Platonic trend, had said, "All in life is so obscure, so diverse, so opposed, that we cannot be assured of any truth." And Castig-

lione, going beyond Terence's *Quot homines, tot sententiae*, points out the existence of different judgments in the same individual at different times. Truth is relative, not absolute. All depends upon the individual point of view. That shining object on the barber's head is the helmet of Mambrinus to Don Quijote; to Sancho it is a basin. Does Cervantes side with Sancho? Possibly; but more probably he regarded it as a basin-helmet.

Strongly inclined as he was toward the rationalistic explanation (he constantly resorts to experiment to check the truth of appearances), Cervantes is by no means an uncompromising rationalist. The truth of faith ever enters in to suggest that the rationalist may after all be wrong. The senses cheat. *Engaño a los ojos* was one of his pet phrases, and he had projected a play which was to have borne this title. What Castro happily denominates *el tema de la realidad oscilante* may be illustrated by hundreds of examples. Take for instance Cervantes' explanation of dreams. These, he says, are caused by bad digestion and brooding over the doings of the previous day, but (for he is unwilling to reject wholly the truth of faith), they may sometimes be divine revelations or illusions of the devil. So, too, while recognizing that most astrologers are impostors, he nevertheless has a sneaking conviction that competent and scientific astrologers may somewhere exist. Cervantes was not in advance of the scientific thought of his day. He questioned many a hoary error without entirely rejecting it; but to question at all was a step forward.

Naturally, "wavering reality" and "double truth" lead many humans into error; and a large part of Cervantes' writing is concerned with conflicts between error and that perfect harmony, which to him was always the *summum bonum*. When error consists merely in a misconception of the appearances of nature, the victim of the mistake is punished in some comic manner, or suffers some minor indignity; but when the error has to do with moral law, the transgressor is almost invariably punished with death. A neo-Platonist in his conception of love (León Hebreo was his guide and master), Cervantes regarded love as the most perfect of harmonies. Sins of love committed with a view to achieving a perfect harmony cease to be sins to our author. Conversely, errors of love (the offender is always a man) cost the offender his life. Señor Castro establishes this plainly by a subtle analysis of the many tragedies of error in Cervantes' writings.

The chief cause of error, then, is the effort to combat nature. Cervantes is at one with Valla, Ficino, Pico de la Mirandola, León Hebreo, Castiglione, and the other neo-Platonists in regarding nature as quasi-divine. God is immanent in all created things, a doctrine destined to develop into the pantheism of Spinoza. Cervantes frequently designates nature as God's *mayordomo*. To nature God has delegated most of his important tasks. To oppose nature is to war against God. The result is *disonancia*, often ending in tragedy. Man should know himself and seek *armonía* by doing the task appointed him by nature. In nature, like begets like. Birth and rank are important.

Cervantes is at one with Molière in his ridicule of the *bourgeois* who attempts to become *gentilhomme*. So in all things, little and great, follow nature.

But thinkers of the time recognize that nature is no longer perfect, though it had been once. Hence the longing with which they reverted to the Age of Gold. Nature spoiled by man is susceptible of improvement. The pastoral genre is part of the Renaissance's longing to represent a perfected nature. Similarly there is an idealization of those closest to nature: the noble savage, rustics, children, animals. One recalls Cervantes' own idealization of gypsy life. As the common man expresses his wisdom in proverbs, the *refrán* acquires a new interest in this age. The naïve philosophy embodied in them is worthy of respect. Humanists made collections of them, following the wide popularity of Erasmus' *Adages*. Similarly the ballad, frowned upon by court poets of preceding centuries, now acquires respectability in Spain. So, too, the use of the vernacular in literature. Cervantes is at one with Juan de Valdés, who held that one's native tongue is a gift of God and nature. To abandon it for Latin is a sin against nature. The common man with his unspoiled notions has a purer conception of justice than the professional lawyers immeshed in their technicalities. Sancho Panza's justice at Barataria confounds the men of law. Of course, Sancho is Cervantes' best portrait of the common man, a likeness certainly not surcharged with idealization. If at times he does idealize the peasant and the man of nature, according to his invariable practice, he hastens forward with the correcting, contrary point of view. For while idealizing the peasant, the Renaissance also despised him for his ignorance and crudities. The proper norms of speech are not those of the peasant but of the *discretos cortesanos*. Don Quijote's advice to the young poet is not to strive to surpass nature, but to perfect it. The perfection of nature is always possible.

It may be objected that Señor Castro is advancing a philosophical explanation for many tendencies which may best be accounted for by assuming that certain medieval trends carried over into the Spanish Renaissance, that the inertia of *españolismo* was great, that certain democratic traits are to be noted at all periods of Spanish literature. But at least it is evident that the views of the humanists gave countenance to and rendered respectable certain tendencies which Spanish writers have always gladly followed.

The germs of Rousseauism may be found in such writers as Erasmus, Montaigne, and Cervantes. But in spite of the faith they had in the primitive justice of the common man, none of these believed in the collective wisdom of the *vulgo*. It remained for the eighteenth century to count noses. Cervantes is no less severe than the rest in his condemnation of the stupidity of the masses. Castro's discussion of the celebrated dissertation on arms and letters is admirable. He finds here one more instance of Cervantes' dualism. It is impossible, he holds, to determine which Cervantes held in highest esteem, the active or the contemplative life. Interesting, too, is Cervantes' attitude toward his own race. He joins Erasmus and Castiglione in condemning Spanish pomposity and affectation and in praising Spanish bravery.

and courtesy. He shows generous appreciation of other nations, attacks the Hapsburg policy with regard to the Flemish wars, and advocates instead a crusade against the Turk—a Mediterranean policy as we should say today. The present reviewer cannot agree with Castro when he sides with Ménendez y Pelayo in stating that Cervantes wrote no picaresque novel. But this is a mere matter of definition. Is cynicism a necessary test of the genre, and must all picaresque novels adhere closely to the narrow formula of the *Lazarillo*? However, there can be no quarreling with the statement that Cervantes' treatment of the picaresque is unique.

The chapter on Cervantes' attitude toward religion is that which will surely arouse most controversy in Spain; for Castro's method is to take certain apparently plain statements of his author and twist them into a contrary significance by giving them an ironic interpretation. I believe that in general he is sound in so doing, for Cervantes was an incorrigible wag; but the ironic interpretation will be resisted by some. Moreover, Cervantes' essential dualism leads him into contradictions. Castro assembles five passages in which Cervantes makes paradoxical defense of hypocrisy, and concludes that he is seeking to justify an attitude forced upon liberal thinkers of the Counter Reformation period, and that a humorous hypocrisy is an essential part of the method of this self-styled *poetón soccarón*. Then are instanced numerous passages in which Cervantes makes fervent display of orthodoxy, with the charge that the author is protesting over much. To Castro, Cervantes is no free-thinker, but a Catholic of liberal, Erasmist tendencies. A Catholic, yes, but one possessed of a stock of non-Catholic beliefs. "He protests orthodoxy with a wink of the eye, throws a stone and hastily hides his hand."

As for miracles, Cervantes held that there are less of these than commonly supposed. Certain manifestations held to be miracles are nothing but *misterios*, capable of rationalistic explanation, if only our knowledge of natural phenomena were deeper. He fails to take the next step of saying that, if this be so, possibly all miracles may be merely mysteries. Castro believes this last to be Cervantes' real, though unexpressed, attitude. But one must disagree with this. Here as elsewhere Cervantes would leave room for the truth of faith, would deny the power of reason to explain all things, would adhere to his consistent dualism.

Without doubt Cervantes is severe toward certain abuses of worship. It is ridiculous to trouble God with prayers for rain. Rain is supplied by God's *mayordomo*, nature. Cervantes follows Erasmus in condemning religious processions, pompous funerals, and certain cults which the Rotterdamer had styled *vestigia veteris paganismi*. He ventures even to ridicule mildly the national patron, St. James, is irreverent in writing of St. Martin's famous deed of charity and the superstitious prayers addressed to Santa Apolonia, patroness of those afflicted with toothache. He has slight regard for those saints who have become the center of legend. As with Erasmus, his favorite saint is Paul.

Castro sees satire of the mob's prejudices when Don Quijote says that the souls of the worthies of antiquity are certainly in hell, and when Sancho claims merit for his hatred of the Jews. In view of Cervantes' usual tolerance, such views, if taken literally, hardly seem to square with his philosophy. Yet there are certain passages in which he seems to show hatred of Moors and Moriscos, at whose hands he had suffered much. He joins with his contemporaries in condemning them for their very virtues, thrift and economic efficiency. But is not Cervantes' real attitude toward the unfortunate Morisco race best found in the Ricote episode? He presents a sympathetic picture of the exile's sufferings and applauds Ricote's resolve to found a new home in Germany. If he praises too highly the Germans and French of his day for their supposed religious tolerance, it is because he felt that his own countrymen were less tolerant than they. He even praises the Moslems for their liberality in allowing Christian captives to worship in their own way, and rising superior to petty patriotism and war propaganda, portrays Elizabeth of England as a wisely tolerant ruler.

Cervantes, then, was like Erasmus a reformer within the church, tolerant, liberal, discreetly attacking abuses. He is modern in his insistence upon ethics as opposed to outer ceremonial. A sacristan in one of his plays calls fasting on Friday "childishness." Problems of conduct alone are important. "He preaches well, who lives well," replied Sancho, "and I know no other theologies." "Nor do you need them," said Don Quijote."

The ethical system of Cervantes, like that of Molière, is unorthodox. Castro finds that Lanson's statement with respect to the ethics of Molière applies equally well to the Spaniard:

Molière a profondément ignoré le Christianisme. ... La forme originale de la morale Chrétienne c'est la résistance à la nature. On ne la trouve pas chez Molière. ... Combattre la nature est folie: on est ridicule de le faire et malheureux; car la nature a le dessus; elle se retourne contre celui qui veut la forcer ou la détruire.

Cervantes handles his characters as if there were no rewards or punishments in a future world. One achieves happiness or unhappiness, that is to say, "harmony" or "dissonance," according as one follows, or seeks to thwart, nature. Reward or punishment comes in this life in a way that is logical and even fatalistic. Certain deeds sinful in the eyes of the church are not so to Cervantes; and conversely he considers sinful, actions which the church sanctions. Chief of these is the union of January and May, a theme which preoccupied Cervantes quite as much as it did Molière. (His wife, Catalina de Palacios, was his junior by eighteen years, a fact probably not without significance.) One could compile a long list of tragedies in the writings of Cervantes resulting from unsuitable marriages. A marriage contrary to nature is to Cervantes one of the gravest of sins, while adultery, under certain circumstances, is condoned.

But all this naturalism is tinged with stoicism. Not that Cervantes affected stoic asceticism. On the contrary he did not frown upon the good things of

life, and shows a strongly hedonic side. He is stoic in his fatalism and in his brave acceptance of fate. Chance plays no part. Everyone is the "artificer of his fortune" in a double sense. His achievement is the logical, fatal outcome of the inheritance and environment with which nature has endowed him; but also his it is to rise superior to circumstance in his serene acceptance of fate. It is in his power to be humble in prosperity and resigned in disaster. He can always "fold his cloak and sit upon it."

To conclude, Castro in presenting his readers with a new Cervantes may be too extreme in his effort to piece each scattered thought into a reasoned system, just as previous critics have been too prone to ascribe all to native sagacity and the promptings of a noble heart. Cervantes is no less a man of common sense than we had supposed him. His instinctive preference for the magnanimous must spring partly from sweetness of disposition and not wholly from reasoned intelligence. So much of the old criticism may stand. But we see in addition a wistful, inquiring intelligence, standing in honest puzzlement in the midst of that strange welter of contrasting currents characteristic of his age. What is truth? and What is true? were questions always asked but never completely solved. The idealist and the rationalist each had a glimmering of the truth, he thought, and each had his illusions and follies. Cervantes' approach to a solution of the philosophic riddle was to picture opposing viewpoints in dramatic collision.

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Un dramaturge populaire de la Renaissance italienne: Ruzzante. By ALFRED MORTIER. Paris: J. Peyronnet, *Tome Premier*, 1925; *Tome Second—Œuvres complètes*, 1926.

The first volume of M. Mortier's work was successfully presented in 1925 as a thesis for the *doctorat de l'Université de Paris*; the second volume complements his study of Ruzzante with a French translation of almost¹ all the poet's known works.

M. Mortier has collected most carefully the results of the researches of various contemporary Italian scholars (especially Lovarini) and assembled them under one cover. He has thus rendered a very real service to scholarship, although his book adds nothing significant to our knowledge of its subject. And his translations have unquestionably brought Angelo Beolco ("Ruzzante") before a wide circle of readers who had never even heard of him before.

¹ Cf. I, 118 n.: "La *Pastorale* ne figurera pas dans ma traduction, car elle n'ajouterait rien à la gloire de Ruzzante" (!). It is not quite accurate, therefore, to entitle the second volume *Œuvres complètes*. We may also note the omission of the *Lettera qual scribe Ruzzante a una so morosa* (see V. Rossi, *Le Lettere di messer Andrea Calmo* [Torino, 1888], pp. cxix-cxxi).

The material of Volume I is divided into twelve chapters, which include ample treatments of the development of rustic satire, popular comedy, etc., in the Renaissance before and after Angelo Beolco; they also contain, of course, extensive analyses and bibliographies of Beolco's works. M. Mortier seems to have verified all his predecessors' findings with unusual conscientiousness, and to have examined with great care all the available manuscripts as well as printed material. He has thus been able to correct one previously doubtful point: Luigi Cornaro's second hunting lodge, in which was a small theater where Ruzzante doubtless gave his *Dialogo facetissimo*, was in the neighborhood of Loreo, and not, as has been thought, at Este; but no ulterior significance attaches to the fact. Of greater interest, though less conclusive, is the evidence he brings forward for the authorship of the apocryphal *Terza orazione*; but he has unhappily been unable to make it more than a powerful probability that Giacomo Morello was the author in question.

The translations are very fairly successful, but are not always accurate. A very superficial collation with the 1548 edition of *Piovana* reveals many mistranslations such as the following:

"... che a giamazzan, a zo que negun no uaghe in bando. ... El se andara in bando a mazzar can. ...¹ Sgrenza: Aston: putti tutti saltè fuora con de le arme. ..." [not] "Il faudra les assommer, afin qu'aucun d'entre eux ne soit banni. ... On ne bannit pas les chiens, on les tue. ... Sgrenza! Aston! ohé! les garçons et les filles! Arrivez tous avec des armes ..." [II, 406].

"... giba rottà la cassetta de i dinari; perque i dise, che le limuosine no uale; che, quel che de esser, sarà." [not] "Ils ont fracturé la caisse contenant l'argent, parce qu'ils prétendent que les aumones sont du bien mal acquis, et qu'il faut agir de la sorte" [II, 407].

There are a number of other points at which M. Mortier's critical acumen does not seem to have been entirely alert. A few examples may be listed:

"Au reste, fier et d'âme noble s'il accepta volontiers d'être hébergé en ami par Cornaro, il ne s'enquit pas qu'il ait voulu vivre et subsister à ses dépens ni être stipendie par lui" [I, 33]. [Ruzzante's relations with his patron Luigi Cornaro appear to have been invariably excellent; but we have nothing to show that he was *fier et d'âme noble*, still less that he or any man of his time would quarrel unprovoked with his more or less gratuitous bread-and-butter.]

"Libro de comedie di più autori et prima commedia a la villana composta per misser Anzolo Biolco. ... On remarquera que le copiste dit: *prima commedia alla villana*, etc. Ce serait ainsi le premier essai dramatique de Ruzante" [I, 117]. [The title reads, of course, "Comedies by various authors; and first, a rustic comedy by messer Angelo Beolco."]

"Ce titre, la *Piovana*, n'a jamais été expliqué. Après recherche et réflexion je pense en avoir déterminé le sens: le *Piovana* tire son titre du canton de Piove, sur l'Adriatique, a Chioggia, où se déroule l'action" [I, 145]. [The title surely means "The Girl from Piove," since the heroine, as we are told in Act IV, "l'È de Pauana

¹ *andare in bando* here = "get off scot free." Cf. *Diz. Tommaseo* (ed. Torino, 1924), s.v. *bando*: "4. ... In bando, non legato, ne altrimenti trattenuto." Cf. also *ibid.*: "3. Di bando, Gratuitamente."

staputta del Piouò"—"She's from Paduan territory, this girl is; from near Piove." But this is not a Piove at Chioggia,¹ nor où se déroule l'action; and the title does not mean, as M. Mortier would seem to imply, "The Piove Play." Undoubtedly Ruzzante had the title of Terence's *Andria* in mind when naming both this comedy and his *Anconitana*.]

"Cet épisode montre qu'à cette époque, faute de police peut-être, les paysans ne craignaient pas de s'unir en bandes armées pour vider leurs querelles particulières" [II, 62 n.]. [Merely because in a farcical comedy the heroine's mother summons her farm laborers to drive off her daughter's suitor and his friends?]

"... la danse finie tous s'en vont ... hommes et femmes, deux par deux. ..." "Hommes et femmes. Cette didascalie scénique me semble démontrer que le rôle de Geneviève était joué par une femme" [II, 282]. [Can it possibly suggest anything more than that a part of the chorus was in female garb?]

Among the many other comments that suggest themselves, the following may be noted here:

[I, 17:] "... des comédies proprement dialectales ... on n'a retrouvé la trace que des représentations à Ferrare et à Venise. ... "[Notturno Napoletano *et al.* in the South, G. G. Alone in Piedmont, and various others might be cited to the contrary.]

[I, 67:] "... il ne semble pas que les jeunes filles allassent au théâtre ..." [To the evidence cited from Sansovino, we may add:]

"Ma perche 'n questa terra è certa usanza,
Donne, che voi non potete uenire
A uederci alla stanza, [i.e., in the theater]
Doue facciamo ognun lieto gioire. ..."²

[I, 90:] "Peut-être ... ne s'agissait-il pas d'une comédie dont Ruzzante était l'auteur, car ... il n'est jamais licencieuse. ..." [This statement (made in connection with Sanudo's remark, "fo recita una commedia fata per Ruzzante ...," and his characterization of the play as indelicate) is hardly in accord with the facts, or with M. Mortier's subsequent statement on p. 129, "Tout le dialogue est parsemé de hardiesques licencieuses."]

[I, 124:] "La comédie sans titre a-t-il été représentée? Il est permis de le croire, car ... Nale s'adresse à une assistance: *He! la compagnie, faites attention! Ne dites rien, sur votre foi. ...*" [But does this prove anything? The audience is very similarly addressed, for example, in the 1582 edition of Lasca's *Pinzochera*, "... Non più strepito, ò là! non più romor di grazia, tacete se vi piace. ... Spettatori ..."; yet the play is characterized on the title-page as *non recitata mai*.]

[I, 229:] [It is strange to find Luigi Tansillo here among the authors of dialect comedies. Can M. Mortier be thinking of the *Finto*, *Cavallarizzo*, and *Sofista*, printed in 1610 under Tansillo's name to veil the fact that they were by the indexed

¹ Piove is today a small town about a dozen miles from Padua. Whether or not there is any *canton de Piove* at Chioggia, it can have no importance here, since Garbuglio makes the statement cited above expressly to emphasize the fact that the heroine, Nina, is not a Chioggia girl. Bertold Wiese (*Literaturblatt*, XLVII, 248) suggests *Piorana* = Regensturm: Rain was an essential-enough part of the twentieth-century drama of that title; but it hardly figures in Ruzzante's play.

² "Canto di Zanni, e di Magnifichi," *Tutti i Trionfi ... o canti Carnascialeschi andati per Firenze ...* (Firenze, 1559), pp. 462-63.

Pietro Aretino—being the latter's *Ipocrito*, *Marescalco*, and *Filosofo*, with expurgations and with altered names?]

[II, 107 n.] "C'était une croyance répandue dans le peuple, au moyen âge, que le dernier souffle s'échappait par en bas..." [At least as far as the reviewer has noted it, this superstition in Italy applies only to the damned soul; while last breath and soul both, if blest, departed regularly through the mouth. Certainly all Ruzzante's references clearly imply such a distinction; that soul or last breath should escape the baser way meant definite damnation.]

The list of criticisms such as these could be continued extensively; but the main scope of M. Mortier's book is none the less triumphantly attained. He has collected all the known facts about Ruzzante's life and works, illustrated them in his first volume with a generous number of facsimiles and portraits, and set them forth, with some few slight additions, clearly and fully, if not invariably with judgment. The translations in his second volume, not always literally accurate, yet admirably reveal the detailed contents of Ruzzante's works to many for whom otherwise they were beyond all reach.¹

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¹ Unhappily both volumes are marred by a large number of misprints (in addition to those caught for the Errata). Most of them do no essential harm, but one or two are misleading; e.g., I, 49, note (1): *for* "Giorn. Stor. LXII, p. 299" *read* "... LXIII, p. 291"; I, 144, line 5: *for* "218" *read* "278"; I, 232, note (1): *for* "scène II" *read* "scène XI"; etc.

BRIEFER MENTION

In his presidential address,¹ delivered at the forty-third annual meeting of the Modern Language Association, at Cambridge last December, T. A. Jenkins has studied an interesting case of word-history or, as Mr. Bréal baptized that branch of philology, of *Sémantique*—how the word *novella*, *nouvelle*, *novel* has in literature, in the first place, lost its original meaning of ‘a piece of news,’ ‘the latest,’ and then assumed, when used by writers of fiction, two new meanings: (a) that of ‘a striking or clever saying’ (*novella*), ‘memorable speech or saying,’ and *nouvelle*=‘speeches,’ *fiori di parlare*, *Redeblumen* (p. lvi); (b) that of the short story containing such a saying, ultimately coming to mean, for people using it in a loose sense, ‘short story,’ even when the story does not rest on a clever speech. It appears that the same phenomenon occurred in Italian, in French, and in Provençal. Under these heads, Professor Jenkins has some really striking examples to offer.

There is, of course, often an obvious kinship between the original meaning ‘news’ and that of ‘clever saying’; when the story is told and cleverly told it has in it the elements of art and literature. In the very early days, when this word, which had such a remarkable fortune, was launched to indicate a literary genre, we find a passage which we are surprised to see is not mentioned by Professor Jenkins: in the Introduction to Poggio’s *Facetiae* (I quote from Le Roux de Lincy’s excellent edition of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, Introd., p. xvii) we have the following:

Il m'a paru bon d'apprendre dans quel lieu la plupart de ces récits furent débités. Ce fut à notre *Bugiale*, c'est-à-dire, une sorte de fabrique de contes, formée autrefois par les secrétaires [du pape] dans le but de se distraire; nous avions pris l'habitude en effet au temps du pape Martin V (1415) de choisir un endroit secret du Vatican dans lequel chacun apportait les *nouvelles* qu'il apprenait. Nous parlions tantôt de choses sérieuses, tantôt de choses plaisantes dans le but de nous distraire. Nous ne faisons grâce à personne et nous poursuivions de nos critiques tout ce qui nous déplaisait. Nous commençons souvent nos railleries par le pontife lui-même, et il arriva souvent que bien des gens se joignaient à nous dans la crainte de nos moqueries. Dans ces réunions, Razellus de Boulogne était le principal conteur et j'ai mêlé plusieurs de ses récits aux miens. ...

In one part of his address, Professor Jenkins tries to show that even today, although the real origin of the term *novel* has been totally lost sight of, some writers of fiction seem to betray something of the early connotation: *nouvelle* =‘short story with prevalence of speech, or dialogue.’ He mentions, among the representatives of the *roman dialogué*, such authors as Diderot, Roger

¹ T. Atkinson Jenkins, “On Newness in the Novel,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XLII (March, 1927), 1.

Martin du Gard, A. Daudet, Henry James, Mrs. Wharton, and Unamuno, and states that "into modern French much of this older meaning has persisted: a *nouvelle* is distinguished from a *roman* not only by its comparative brevity, but it is commonly a love-story and realistic dialogue is much in evidence" (p. lii). It is a question, however, whether at this point the thread which should link the present with the past is not getting dangerously thin, even from the point of view of semantics.—A. SCHINZ.

In her article, "Arthur's Round Table," in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (XLI [1926], 771-84), Mrs. Laura Hibbard Loomis points out what in this connection was unnoticed before, that in Christian art the table of the Last Supper was often round in form. She argues that pictures like those which she publishes influenced Robert of Boron's account, and this is probable enough, since the Christian connections of Robert's story are perfectly apparent.

The article would be wholly admirable if only it contained a statement that the new material in it has no apparent bearing on Wace, the first writer to mention Arthur's Round Table, but only on Robert of Boron, who wrote more than thirty years later. Arthurian experts will see the limitations of the article at a glance; anyone in doubt is urged to examine the Round Table passages in Wace.¹ He will find that Wace gives no sign of any association with the table of Christ, and says that he got the Round Table from "fables of the Bretons." Since the account of Wace is the oldest and since it purports to be Celtic in basis, the theory that King Arthur's Round Table is of Celtic origin still has the right of way. The value of Mrs. Loomis' article is in illustrating the development of the Table; it does not touch the question of its origin.—ARTHUR C. L. BROWN.

In 1910, Edw. Järnström published in the series "Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fenniae" the first part of a general collection of Old French religious lyrics. There were sixty-five pieces in this first instalment; the second part, of eighty pieces, now appears (*Recueil de Chansons pieuses du XIII^e siècle, publiées par Edw. Järnström et Arthur Långfors*, Helsingfors, 1927), the whole work to be completed soon by the same editors. These lyrics vary greatly in interest. Some are a tissue of pious commonplace, but others are little masterpieces of easy versification, or are pervaded by a charming *naïveté* which reminds us of the noëls and of the legends and reflections embodied in cathedral sculpture. The anonymous author of No. LXXIX feels a great desire to sing fittingly of the purification of the Virgin, and does so, yet cannot repress the natural question, Why should Marie, the embodiment of purity, be in need of the visit to the Temple:

Mais quex besoins vous fist aler
Purgier el temple Salemon
Quant en vous n'est se purtés non?

¹ *Le Roman de Brut* (ed. Le Roux de Lincy, 1836-38), II, 74-76, 99, 229, ll. 9994-10043, 10555, 13675.

To which humble query no doubt many an answer could be, and has been, given.

It is to be hoped that a complete glossary will be provided in the third and final volume, for there is much of linguistic interest. A few details may be touched upon: pages 12, 59, the attribution of No. LXXV to *Li quens de Bretaigne* receives valuable support from the unusual rhyme *eslez* (Central Fr. *eslez*; cf. Goerlich's *Northwestern Dialects*, p. 32); page 109, line 2, the versification would require the interversion of *fait* and *revenir*; page 110, line 32, instead of *vaires* the correct reading is no doubt *viaures*, from Latin *VELLUS*¹ which fits the sense perfectly—this word is rare, but it is well authenticated;² page 113, line 1, the troublesome *maumir* may be a variant of *marmer*, *mermer*, VL *MÍNÍMARE*,³ page 127, line 69, *la baie d'enfer* is 'the mouth of hell,' *baie* being the regularly reduced form of *bayée*, *béée*,⁴ page 136, as to the obscure word *sohier*, *soihier*, the meaning 'low companion' seems to suit the few passages in which it occurs, and one may suggest a possible *SÚT-ARIUS, 'swineherd,' 'swinish person,' from SÚTIS.⁵ Certain it is that in the lyric of Pieres de Corbie it would be most natural that Hanot, being now married, "will easily learn to do without dangerous and violent tourneys, and will dismiss the glutinous companion [?], who must always be a great consumer" (of food and money).—T. A. J.

R. Levy's *The Astrological Works of Abraham Ibn Ezra, with Special Reference to the Old French Translation of Hagin* (Johns Hopkins Press, and Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1927) is an entirely worthy addition to the series of which it is a part. The glossary is based on an Old French translation made by one Hagin (or Hayyim) surnamed *li Juïs*, under the auspices of Henri Bate of Malines, an English astronomer, in the year 1273, from the Hebrew of Ibn Ezra. This version was one of several, as the treatise was popular. We have thus a series of connected texts, not detached glosses or fragments, in Hebrew, Old French, Middle French, English, Catalan, and Latin (two of the last). As a result, a check on the word concerned is doubly sure; we are dealing, not merely with a special corner of Romance, but to a certain extent with comparative Romance. The author's plan is to give first the word that occurs in Hagin, with his own rendering, then, in parentheses, the Latin and Hebrew. Other versions are cited but rarely. Where need arises, the Old French is quoted *in extenso*. Among the more elaborate treatments is that of *clofichement* (p. 86), defined by Godefroy 'les clous mêmes,' 'fabrication de clous'; also *clofichier*, 'attacher avec des clous.' However, by collating the text with Catalan 'subtils coses deles mans,' Latin 'omnia artificia ingeniosa,'

¹ Meyer-Lübke, *REW*, 9182.

² Cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XVII (1919), 415-16.

³ Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, 5586, who omits the Old French and Provençal forms, but see Godefroy and Levy.

⁴ See Tobler-Lommatsch, and Wartburg, *FEW*, p. 282, col. 2.

⁵ Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, 8492.

Hebrew 'pittuah,' and, for *pierres clofichiées*, with Catalan 'pedres que son segells,' it is evident that Godefroy made a mistake.

In this and other cases, Dr. Levy adduces copious references to other Judaeo-Romance texts. These often disagree in usage with the standard Old French dictionaries, at the same time displaying remarkable unanimity among themselves. See especially pages 86, 95, 101, 111, 113. Incidentally it appears that Godefroy was acquainted with Judaeo-French, but was subject to error, both as to definition and accuracy of citation. Thus he establishes a false relation between *eigier*, 'to build' < AEDIFICARE and *aige* < AQUA; as to the latter, we note that Godefroy misquotes, writing *la crenure de son chief* for *en son chief crenure*, as given in Hagin's version (p. 89). Likewise, the dictionary, using excerpts from Hagin, sometimes misinterprets, as in *avers*, 'au contraire de' (p. 77).

An interesting bibliography accompanies the work, also an Appendix, where are cited parallel passages from various texts. It is unfortunate they are not longer. Some isolated comments: It is curious to note the singular *compaignie* (p. 87) translating Hebrew *re'im*. Does the text read *me-re'im*? Judging by the inclusion of well-known terms like *combatant*, *compains*, *ensemble*, the author evidently did not desire to limit his glossary to the less usual words, but nothing is said about the standard adopted. *Debriser*, while somewhat less common, is sufficiently known (Villon, *Lais*, v. 16, for at least one case).—A. H. SCHUTZ.

Professor Wells has issued the third supplement to his *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (Yale University Press, 1926), incorporating brief notes and bibliography of publications in this field between January, 1923, and June, 1926, together with some corrections of errors and omissions in previous issues. Everyone interested in Middle English will be glad to have this invaluable work brought up to date. Yet it may be doubted whether in the supplements it is best to follow the precise form of the original manual. The notes in the first half of the supplement are scrappy in effect and do not actually indicate the most important events of the period covered. Surely notable new publications such as Miss Hibbard's book on romances, Professor Brown's volume of religious poems, and the only modern edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* ought to be mentioned there, for they are not only of bibliographical importance but are real contributions to scholarship. Or to look at it in another way, there is something obviously imperfect about a plan which allots a page and a half to discussion of the romances and seven pages to bibliography of the same subject. Clearly the bibliography, not the summary-section, is the useful part of the book. Perhaps it would be better either to omit the summaries altogether or to develop them in more detail somewhat like those in *The Year's Work in English Studies*. The *Manual* with its supplements, however, is indispensable to students of Middle English, all of whom realize their great debt to Professor Wells for his indefatigable labor and meticulous care.—J. R. H.

The *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, by Mosén Diego de Valera, is now edited by Juan de M. Carriazo (Madrid, 1927). This text, Anejo VIII in the series issued by the *Revista de Filología Española*, possesses the distinction of being a new source. Lacking though it does the historical and literary importance of Pulgar's chronicle of the same reign, and, like Pulgar's account, falling short of the dramatic climax of Granada, the present work nevertheless fills in an important gap. An incomplete MS, listed by bibliographers but apparently never studied, has long existed in the British Museum. Señor Carriazo has discovered another MS in the Escorial Library, and still another in the private collection of the Duque de Gor. These three MSS, which supplement one another beautifully, have been combined into one and edited scientifically with complete apparatus of variant readings. The Introduction gives an exhaustive study of this little-known author, with an account of his writings. Diego de Valera, who was born in 1412 and died in 1488, was an important character in warfare, politics, and diplomacy during a long lifetime. He was a man of action, describing events in which he and his friends had participated. Señor Carriazo fittingly calls him the last of the line of medieval chroniclers, for nothing in his style suggests the Renaissance. He is anecdotal, with a partiality for describing *hazañas*. His merit is that he offers the testimony of an eyewitness.—G. T. N.

In *The Modernity of Milton* (pp. viii+277, University of Chicago Press, 1927), Walter D. Larson supports the newer view of Milton as a poet of ideas by emphasizing the modernity of his thinking. "His chief appeal is to the intellect" (p. 267). "Milton was, like Socrates, revolutionary and modern" (p. 237), "a powerful force in disintegrating medievalism and all that it stands for, and in bringing in the modern era" (p. 54). His "metaphysics constitute a powerful and far-reaching weapon in the revolt against the Puritan conception of life . . . [the revolt] that paved the way to modern life" (p. 132). "His theology is as modern as any can be" (p. 129). Ethically, Milton is "perhaps the most significant exponent of the modern theory of life, which holds that all men are inalienably free and potentially equal. . . ." (p. 109).

The reader misses adequate analysis. Analysis would show that Milton in his thinking was not very modern. Modernity, of course, has many meanings, but applied to Milton it must refer, as Mr. Larson sees, to philosophical, ethical, or religious "modernity." Philosophically, "modern" denotes an interest in the function rather than in the purpose or design of things. In this sense, Milton, unlike Hobbes or Machiavelli, was not a modern thinker. Ethically, "modern" suggests reliance on experience rather than on discipline. In this sense, likewise, Milton was not modern, at least not in his theory. He was all for discipline. Theologically, "modernism" means emphasis on either character or "charity," and not on creed or dogma. In this sense, as Mr. Larson shows (p. 188), Milton was an emerging "modernist." And this, strictly speaking, is about the extent of "the modernity of Milton."—E. C. HASSOLD.

An important contribution is René Bray's *La Formation de la Doctrine classique en France* (Paris: Hachette, 1927). As the Preface states, the work belongs rather to the history of ideas than to the domain of literary history proper. From this point of view, the author traces the technique of "imitation," established by the Pléiade, down through the body of rules developed on this basis in the seventeenth century. The question of taste (*le goût*), however, is left for a later study. Thus the work is an introduction or prolegomenon to classical doctrine. While M. Bray takes note of what has been written in his field and gives due credit to American scholarship, his work would have gained by a reference to C. H. C. Wright's *French Classicism*, which gives so admirable a picture of the classical background in Plato and Aristotle. On the other hand, limited as M. Bray's study is, with its emphasis on the French critics, it brings out well the importance of such writers as Deimier (1610) and La Mesnardière (1639), and it will be useful for reference. The Bibliography alone is of great value.—W. A. N.

Mr. Allardyce Nicoll, whose history of English drama after the Restoration has now reached its third volume, has recently edited for the Oxford University Press a useful series of "English Comedies of the Eighteenth Century." Five plays have thus far appeared under this general title: Arthur Murphy's *The Way to Keep Him* (1760-61), George Colman's *The Jealous Wife* (1761), Frederick Reynolds' *The Dramatist* (1789), Elizabeth Inchbald's *Every One Has His Fault* (1793), and Thomas Morton's *Speed the Plough* (1800). Though they can hardly be classed as masterpieces, these plays are interesting specimens of English comedy in a period which has hitherto attracted little attention from editors and historians of the drama, and their republication in a convenient and inexpensive form—the price of each volume is one shilling—is a real service to scholars. There are no notes, but for each play Professor Nicoll has written a brief Introduction defining its main interest and setting forth such facts as are necessary to an intelligent reading of the text.—R. S. C.

Harisse, Havens, and others have thrown much light on the English visits of the Abbé Prévost and upon the English influence on his work. Now comes Dr. Mysie E. I. Robertson with a critical edition of Prévost's *Mémoires et Avantures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde. Tome V: Séjour en Angleterre* (Paris: Champion, 1927). Dr. Robertson's larger purpose is to make available the text of Prévost's first account of England, so as to establish the novelist as "le premier et le plus grand des médiateurs entre la France et l'Angleterre." This she accomplishes very creditably, though she might have considered more fully what Prévost really knew of England. Material appears in his other novels and in *Le pour et contre*, and a concise survey of his whole knowledge of the English (and Irish) countryside and of the English mind would have adorned the volume.

The Preface contains brilliant new biographical material. Harisse was wrong in thinking Prévost's contemporaries calumniated him in accusing him of having forged a note in England. He was imprisoned in the Gatehouse on December 13, 1733, and tried for getting fifty pounds on a false promissory note written over a true signature of Francis Eyles. He was freed, probably on the good offices of Eyles himself, whom the journals of the day in another connection describe as Member of Parliament for Devizes. (Dr. Robertson does not so describe him.) The imprisonment neatly is made to aid in determining the period of Prévost's absence from *Le pour et contre*. It also leads Dr. Robertson to conclude Harisse wrong in his annotation of Ravanne's remark that Prévost "étoit alors Gouverneur du Fils de Chevalier Ey ..." Dr. Robertson naturally likes to believe that the "Chevalier Ey ..." was Sir John Eyles and that Prévost was governor of Francis Eyles. This seems probable, but some details indicate that Francis Eyles may have been too old to have been a governor after 1728. It seems strange that it has not been possible to determine the date of his birth or baptism.

This volume represents an important advance in our knowledge of Prévost—particularly in these biographical facts. There remains, however, much to do in the field; this, of course, does not vitally concern Dr. Robertson's major purpose. Prévost's connection with the Eyles family should be further scanned, and, if possible, some study should be made of his relations with Nicolas Prévost, the London bookseller. Dr. Robertson contents herself with the customary statement that the two Prévosts are often confused. No one apparently has noted the fact that surprisingly early in 1731 N. Prévost was pushing the sale of "*The Life of Mr. Cleveland, natural son of Oliver Cromwell; written by himself. 2 vols. 12mo.*" In the *Grub-street Journal*, March 11, 1731, N. Prévost advertises *The Life of Mr. Cleveland* under the caption: "In the Press, and Speedily will be published." It is announced in the same paper, April 22, 1731, among books "published since April" [began]. This is almost certainly earlier than the work appeared in French. Furthermore, in a periodical printed for N. Prévost, *Historia litteraria* (II, No. VIII [January, 1731], 202), the news from Utrecht informs us that Etienne Neaulme is printing some things by Antoine Hamilton and "is also printing *les Mémoires de Mr. Cleveland, fils Naturel de Cromwel, traduits de l'Anglois.* In 12mo. 4 vol. [The said Memoirs are actually printing in London from the Original Manuscript.]" In view of the delay on Neaulme's part, "actually" is probably a very significant word.

The same periodical (II, No. IX [March, 1731], 285-92) gives a summary of the story as found in Volumes I and II of the novel, and a promise—interesting in view of Ravanne's statement that seven volumes were contemplated—"to publish in a short time two other volumes, which will conclude the whole work." The article follows the Preface of the novel in treating the story as an authentic and historical document given to the "Editor" by Cleveland's son. The *Historia litteraria* for May, 1731 (p. 408), lists the English version

for sale, and the following number (p. 510) lists *Le philosophe Anglois* (2 vols.) as received (in June or July probably) from Utrecht. It is then a tenable theory that *Cleveland* (Vols. I and II) was first brought out in English so as to make it seem a truly authentic piece of autobiography. In this deception, so typical of the day, the two Prévosts must have been working together. Two volumes of *Cleveland* were probably written in England and there translated into English by the beginning of 1731. The Abbé may have left England to arrange for the publication at Utrecht. There are many arguments contingent upon N. Prévost's connection with the novel.

The present writer is loth, in spite of the brilliant discovery of the Eyles family by Dr. Robertson, to give up a possible connection of Prévost with the Eyles, who had at least an accidental connection with Ireland that would somewhat aid in explaining the origin of the *Doyen de Killarine*, but a little fact is a dangerous thing and ought not to weigh against the probabilities piled up by Dr. Robertson. She has done much to clear up these obscurities; it is to be hoped that her study will be continued and that it may stimulate others to further work.—G. S.

A list of *Periodicals in American Libraries for the Study of the Hispanic Languages and Literatures*, compiled by Hayward Keniston, is issued by the Hispanic Society of America (New York, 1927). It lists those periodicals of interest to Hispanists found in twenty-three of the largest university, public, and private libraries of the United States. The most serious omission is that of the Congressional Library, lacking through no fault of the committee who co-operated in compiling the list. Hispanists will welcome this bibliographic aid; one now can easily determine in which American institution rare periodicals in this field may be consulted. It is hoped that the compilation of this list is the first step in a scheme of interlibrary co-operation by which each library will specialize in the ordering of a few rare periodicals, insuring the presence on this side of the Atlantic of every essential journal at some one designated place, but avoiding wasteful duplication of all but the most important. Similar lists in other fields are much needed.—G. T. N.

DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

A LEAF FROM A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY LETTER BOOK

As most of the surviving letters of the fourteenth century are of a business character, a special interest attaches to the following group of eight, which are of an unusually personal tone. They are written on a single leaf of a letter book,¹ badly faded and torn, which seems to have belonged to a lady at the court of Richard II. Six of them can be dated *ca.* 1393–96, one may be earlier, and one (the first) bears no marks of date. The owner of the book, from internal evidence, was Lady Alice de Bryene, wife of Sir Guy the younger and daughter-in-law of Sir Guy the elder—both famous knights of the time. How her letter book came into the hands of the government is at present unknown; but there is also in the Public Record Office a long fragment of a household book of hers, dated some twenty years later, which should be studied.

Perhaps the special interest of the letters lies in the evidence they give that French was still the familiar language of English society at the very end of the fourteenth century. They illustrate also the exaggerated courtesy with which relatives addressed one another; they are indeed more mannered than the contemporary treatises on letter-writing suggest to have been the general practice. But their exaggerated compliments do not obscure the human interest of the situations and emotions with which they are concerned. It should be noted that Lady Alice's secretary seems to have copied faithfully the idiosyncracies of spelling in his originals.

The letters follow in the order in which they stand in the leaf, with a few introductory explanations before each.

No. 1

This letter cannot be dated, and the signature has been torn away. Guesses as to the names represented by initials can be made but are too uncertain to be of any value. The writer is evidently a friend, probably a kinsman (cf. *desnaturesse* and *disnaturel*); and, for all his affectation of humility, he ventures to give advice about the management of the lady's household:

Ma treshonuree & tresoueraignement de droit entier coer biename dame
Jeo me recomank humblement a vostre tresbonne noblesse come vostre suggit &
seruant prestement apparaille de vous faire seruice solons mon poair en honeste
manere en [suppliant?] qe vous me voill[ez] comander mon petit estat gardee
prian a dieux trestoutpuissant qe tiels nouvelles toutdis m[oy] . . . de vostre bone
estat [&] sauntee de vous oier come a dieux purreit estre pleisant oue tiele en[cress]

¹ Now A.C. 51/24, in the Public Record Office, London.

de vostre honour qe a tous voz amys & seruantz del oier soit ioie & confort Et treshonuree dame de ma noun venue deuan[t] vous a present vous pleise moi auoir pur excuse pur lez causes qe ieo vous ai escriptz par mez autres lettres qe ieo vous enuoiai pur v[ostre?] da . . . emeins[?] . su[r] [yce]le condicion qe si dieux pleist qe ioie soie en vie & en sauntae apres le Paske proscchein venant ie[o]. . . . oue laide de dije[u] [saunz] ascune excusacion faire bon amendement Sur quoi ieo vous requer qe vous ma treshonur[ee] [dame] excusacion pur nulle desnaturesse qar par ma foi ma treshonure dame disnaturre ne disloial a vous ma treshonure dame touchant vostre hostiel pur dieux le mettez en tiele gouernance [apres?] vous saluer vostre estat qar qui qe comence chose & ne le po[et] bien continuer lom voet a D'autre p[art] ma treshonure dame endroit dil ordinance qu monseigneur de L ad ordeigne pur lenhe[ritance?] qe iadis fuirent a monsieur W de B iai en partie enfourme R D de le vous dire pluie plein[ement] a present escrise Ma treshonure & tresoueraigne dame le saint espirit vous eit en sa digne [garde]¹

No. 2

This letter is an appeal by a clerk named "W," who has been in the service of Sir John de Sutton, to his "attorneys," that is, executors, for the money due him. It is later than 16th Richard II (June 21, 1392-93); and as Sir John de Sutton, who held the manors of Wyvenho and Navestoke of "others than the King,"²² was dead September 30, 1393, it was probably written in the autumn of 1393. If Lady Alice was among the "others" of whom Sutton held his lands, appeal to her was natural. It is to be hoped that she took pity on the poor man whose only pay from his master had been a black gown to wear at the funeral!

As treshonourez & tresloialx attournes monsieur Johan Sutton' qest a dieux
comande [c]e monstre qe come il fuist Clerc a dit monsieur
Johan fesaunt lez acomptez en sez manoirs de Wyuenho] [N]auestoke . . . en Bergholte & Goldyngham & duist prendre chescun an dil dit mon-
sieur Johan pur loffice suisdit xxvj s viij d pur son . . . & sa vesture outre sez
costages de couent fait ovesqe le dit monsieur Johan durant le terme qil fuist
attendant a dit monsieur Johan en loffice suisdit dount le dit W fesant sibien lez
auowez come les acomptez de touz lez Manoirs auantditz paremplis vn an entier
del feste de saint Michel lan du regne le Roi Richard seconde puis le conqueste
seszisme tanqe a mesme le feste proschein ensuant en quele temps le dit monsieur
Johan deuia & le dit W rien nauoit pur [son] labour foursqe vn gowne de noir drap
de lez ditz attournes contre lenterement Et auxi il demande [pur] sez costages vn
foit de Wyuenho a Nauestoke pur faire lez acomptez illoeqes alant & reuenant par
ij iours ij s la some qest a derere amonte xxvij]? s viij d oultre sa vesture & oultre
ceo qui fist lez acomptez de Nauestoke pur vn an a derere deuant le temps qil
fuist en couenant & oultre lez avouuez des issues dez granges de touz lez Manoirs
suisditz apres la mort le dit monsieur Johan & oultre son labour & costages entour

¹ The gaps are caused by a large hole—as if the leaf had been torn violently out of the book.

² Cal. Close Rolls (1392-96), pp. 168 f.

la lese del Manoir de Goldyngham a ferme fesant neantes de ycelle[s] dount le dit W prie dauoir alloaunce come reson demande solone la discretion des auantditz & tresloialx attournes en descharge del alme de dit monsieur Johan qe dieux pur sa halte piete assoille

No. 3

As the first sentence shows, this letter was written to the second husband (whose name I have not found) of Lady Alice de Bures, the grandmother of Lady Alice de Bryene. The writer was Sir John Devereux, steward of the household of King Richard II. In the letter he calls Lady Alice de Bryene his "dear sister"; the exact relationship was that his son John had married her daughter Philippa,¹ although the young people at this time were still children. Devereux was for some years constable of the royal castle of Leeds, and in that capacity was appointed in 1385-86 on a commission of the peace with one Geoffrey Chaucer, not unknown to fame. It is also of interest to note that the letter here printed was written at Penshurst, the future home of Sir Philip Sidney. This manor Devereux held at the time of his death, before November 19, 1393;² and as he had a license to inclose it with a wall, to turret and to crenellate it,³ some of the extant fourteenth-century work may be his. Since the Lady Alice de Bures mentioned in the letter was one of the great heiresses of the time (her income was estimated at 700 marks a year, equivalent to about \$60,000 today), the anxiety of Devereux about the muniments is easily understood. The letter was evidently written in or not long before 1393.

Trescher sire voillez sauoir qe iay entenduz qe vostre compaigne dame Alice de Bures est a dieux comandez par qi certaigns heritage[s] doient turner a ma treschere soer dame Alice de Bryene & com ieo sui enfourne vostre dite compaigne ad aliene diuersez parcelez en son vivant & ore tard en son moriant de la dicte heritage Et pur ceo qe vous y estes homme de honourable affaire et [qe] ma dicte soer est alie a vous Jeo vous prie trescherement qe vous voillez estre aidant tant come vous y purrez benement a ma dicte soer quelle puisse auoir possession & seisine de sa heritage & lez munimentz & euidences touchent ma dicte soer qe vous auetz ou qe vous sauetz estre es autres lieux vous voillez aider & faire [qils?] purront estre enuoiez & deliuerez a ma dicte soer et auxi conseiler ceaux qe tiengment sa heritage par lalienacion sa dicte grande dame⁴ pur lez restorer a elle come a la droite heire sanz faire pursueu ou costages en temps . . . auener Entendant qe cest fait est touchant moy par cause qe mon filz ad espouse vne de sez filles & sez heires et si en ycest fait ieo ferra ascune chose encountre vous ceo moi voudroit greuer Mais ieo vous tiegne si resonable & droitrel qe ieo nauera nulle cause & sur ceste vous voillez a moi enuoier vostre respons[e] par vostre lettre Trescher sire lui saint esprit vous eit en sa garde & vous doigne bone vie & longe Escript a Penshurst le xxvij^o iour daugst

Johan Deuereux

¹ Morant, *History of Essex*, I, 571.

² Dated September 21, 1392 (*Cal. Close Rolls* [1392-96], p. 245).

³ September 21, 1392 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls* [1391-96], p. 164).

⁴ Grandmother.

No. 4

This letter, which begins the verso of the leaf, is more illegible than most of the others. It is unsigned; but the phrases "our signet" and "our manor of Sh[e]n[e]" show that it was from King Richard II. It was evidently addressed to Lady Alice, and must be dated before June 7, 1394, when Queen Anne died at Shene. Whether or not Richard destroyed the palace, as the chroniclers said, he never lived there after Anne's death. But the letter can be dated more closely by its discussion of the marriage of the "daughters of Filliol." These girls were Joan and Anne, daughters of Sir John Filliol of Suffolk, who were evidently at the date of writing in the household of Lady Alice. As Joan Filliol was married to John Chaunceux before February 15, 1394,¹ the letter probably goes back to 1393 at least. The Countess of Hereford, referred to as "our cousin," was Joan Fitzalan, a direct descendant of King Edward I, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, and aunt of a younger Joan Fitzalan who was married to Chaucer's friend, Sir William Beauchamp, brother of the Earl of Warwick. "Our cousin" was the widow of the famous Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford; one of her daughters married King Richard's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, and the other, his cousin Henry, Earl of Derby, later King Henry IV. These facts sufficiently attest the social position of the owner of the letter book.

[n]ous vous auons [script] ez heurez touchant la mariage des filles de Filliole [seantes?] en vostre [m?]einage a deux de noz chiuaders Nientmeyns ne nous souynt alors coment nostre treschere Cousine la Comitesse de Hereford estoit en traitee & bargayn ouesqe vous pur mesme la mariage Si volons qe le traitee en qui vous estes ouesqe ma dicte Cousine de la matiere auantdicte vous voillez continuer non obstant noz autrez lettrez & ent[ref]aire par manere qe pur elle nous vous puissions sauoir bon gree Donez souz nostre signet a nostre Manoir de Sh[e]n[e?] le viij^e iour de Maij

No. 5

This letter seems to be from an officer, perhaps a clerk, in the service of Lady Alice and her husband. Although it is greatly damaged, there is in it a plain reference to a journey to Scotland, which is somehow connected with one John de Waltham of London, tailor, and the signature is preserved—"William Maldone." Likewise, it alludes to "the affairs of my lord and your self" in a way which suggests that the husband of Lady Alice (Sir Guy de Bryene) was still alive when it was written. An account dated "6-7 Richard II" (1382-83) was rendered at the Exchequer by John de Waltham for a journey to Scotland, which may be the one referred to.²

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls* (1392-96), p. 267.

² P.R.O., E. 101/319:7. Waltham is not, however, described as a tailor or as of London. A William de Maldon, in the reign of Edward III, was questioned as to his accounts "for the carriage of the rolls" (E. 101/334:13); but there is no certainty that he was the writer of the letter.

..... dame Jeo moi recomank a *vostre* seignuresse atant come Jeo say ou pluis puisse en desirant doier & sauoir de *vostre* graciouse estat qe dieux *pur* sa mercy longement tiegne en honour & ease D'autre part ma [s]upplie de moi tenir *pur* excuse de ceo qe ieo ne vous ay vewe grant piece come moy semble [t]ielx occupations & busoignes touchant lez affaires de monsieur & le *vostre* sibien come de vous mesmes [j]eo puisse bonement Jeo vous verraye & vous diray lez causes de mez excusacions qar certes ie forsqe monsieur son Sire & le *vostre* qe Jeo desire pluis de veoir et ma treshonuree dame si vous rien Jeo suy en Escoce vous pleise enuoier a Johan Waltham Tailleur de Londres qi demoert de mon *sire* & le *vostre* et il vous deliuera ceo qe vous voilez Treshonuree & tresgraciouse dame luy garde & vous doigne ceo qe *vostre* coer desire Escript a Londrez le xxvij^e iour doctobre

le *vostre* humble seruant William Maldone

Nos. 6-8

These three letters form a group and are by far the most interesting of the eight. Number 7 was written by Robert Lovell, who had married Lady Alice's daughter Elizabeth, and Nos. 6 and 8 apparently by her other son-in-law, John Devereux the younger, No. 6 to his young wife Philippa, and No. 8 to Lady Alice herself.

Robert Lovell was a wealthy young Essex landowner and a squire at the court of Richard II. He went to Ireland in the King's service, June 30, 1395, with Alexander, Bishop of Meath, chancellor of Ireland; and again, May 16, 1396, with the same; and May 23, 1397, the last time, with Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, lord lieutenant of Ireland.¹ His letter was almost certainly written soon after he reached Ireland the second time,² and it was written at Trim, Mortimer's castle in Meath. Young Lovell was then in the household of the man to whom, directly or indirectly, Chaucer owed his reappointment, that very year, as subforester of Petherton. His letter is particularly charming in its strong expressions of gratitude and love, and of the writer's evident concern about his mother-in-law and his eagerness to hear of her welfare.

Ma treshonuree & de trestout mon coer tresentierement bien amee dame & miere Jeo moi recomane a vous si tresentierement come ieo say & pluis puisse en desirant souereignement doier & veraiement sauoir bones & ioiouses nouelles de vous & de *vostre* honorable estat Suppliant a luy treshault & toutpuissant dieux Roy Celestre qil mottroie toutdiz tielz den oier & sauoir come vous sauverez mesmes purpenser mieltz & soheider & come mon coer tresentierement le desire qar certes ma ioie est renouelle quant ieo en ay bones nouelles de vous paront vous supplie qe vous pleise tressouent par lez entreuenants men acarter *pur* tresentiere ioie & leesce de mon coer Et treshonuree dame & miere *pur* ceo qe ieo sui bien certain qe vous moult pleroit doier de moi & de mon estat vous pleise sauoir qal departir de

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1391-96), pp. 595, 712; *ibid.* (1396-99), p. 145.

² The date—June 3—is too early for his first trip; and it stands in the letter book between two letters of the year 1396.

cestes iestooie sainz & heitez dieux mercier vous esmercient & remerciant en quantqe
ioo puise de lez tresgrandes tendreces & chierte qe vous auetz ew & vnyqore auetz
de ma personne & des aultres ennumerables bontez queux vous ad pluz de vostre tres-
haulte gentillesse moi faire & monstrer saunz nulls mez desertz vous suppliant de
vostre bone & gracieuse continu[ance] toutdiz enuers moi Et sascune chose soit
pardueurs moy qe faire puise a honour & pleisaunce de vous vous pleise moy
comander voz gracieuses voilloirs & pleisiere lez queux ieo suy & toutdiz sera
prest dobeier & dacomplir a tout mon petit poair come ieo suy tressouereignement
tenus & obligez Ma treshonuree & de trestout mon coer tresentierement bienamee
dame & miere la benoite Trinite vous eit en sa tresseintisme garde & vous ottroie
bone vie a treslonge durre & bon accomplissement de voz honurables desirs Escript a
Trim en Irlande le tierce iour de Juyn

Vostre humble filtz si vous plaist

Robert louell'

The last two letters were written at Calais about Michaelmas, 1396: No 6, evidently just before, though the date was not copied into the letter book; No. 8, dated Wednesday after the feast of St. Michael. No. 6 is clearly from husband to wife and is signed "Ever yours," while No. 8 is as clearly addressed to Lady Alice and is signed "Your son D . . er" . . . with hints of other letters in the name Devereux. Thus all circumstances point to young John Devereux as the writer of both. His letters are irritatingly brief since the great event at which he hints was the marriage of King Richard to the seven-year-old French Princess Isabel (called in the letters "the Queen of England"), which took place at Calais at this time with a splendor that made the chroniclers lyric. But perhaps the matter-of-fact allusions in the letter are more stimulating to the imagination than any attempt to describe the occasion.

The letters read:

coer tresbien amee compaigne Jeo vous salue tressouent desirant
doier & sauoir auxi [de vous nouvelles?] me de ma personne de
mesme Et quant de moy a la faisaunce dicestes iestoy en bon point loiez en soit
dieux Et endroit des nouvelles pardecea grant ordignance est faite a Caleys encontre
la venue du Roy de France mais homme ne sciet vnyqore pour certain sil vendra a
Caleys ou noun einz le Roy de France & la Roigne Dengleterre soi remuerent
deuers lez Marches de Caleys Marsdy proschein devant le feste de saint Michel
Treschiere & de trestout mon coer tresbien amee compaigne tuy tresbenoite Trinite
vous eit en sa garde & vous doigne ceo qe vostre coer desire. Escript etc.

Trestout le vostre

Treshonuree & tresgracieuse dame & ma tresreuerente Miere Jeo moy re-
comane a vous atant come ieo say ou plus puisse desirant tresgracieuse dame &
Miere doier & sauoir de vostre ease & saunte de vostre corps qe dieux pur sa mercy
vous ottroie en manere come vous mieult sauerez deuiser et en suppliant vostre
tresgracieuse beneceon Et sil vous pleist ma treshonuree dame & Miere de moy
sauoir a la faisance dicestes iestoy en bon point merciez en soit dieux Et endroit
de nouvelles pardecea graunt ordeignance est faite a Caleys encontre la venue le
Roy du France Mais homme ne sciet vnyqore pur certain sil vendra ou noun a

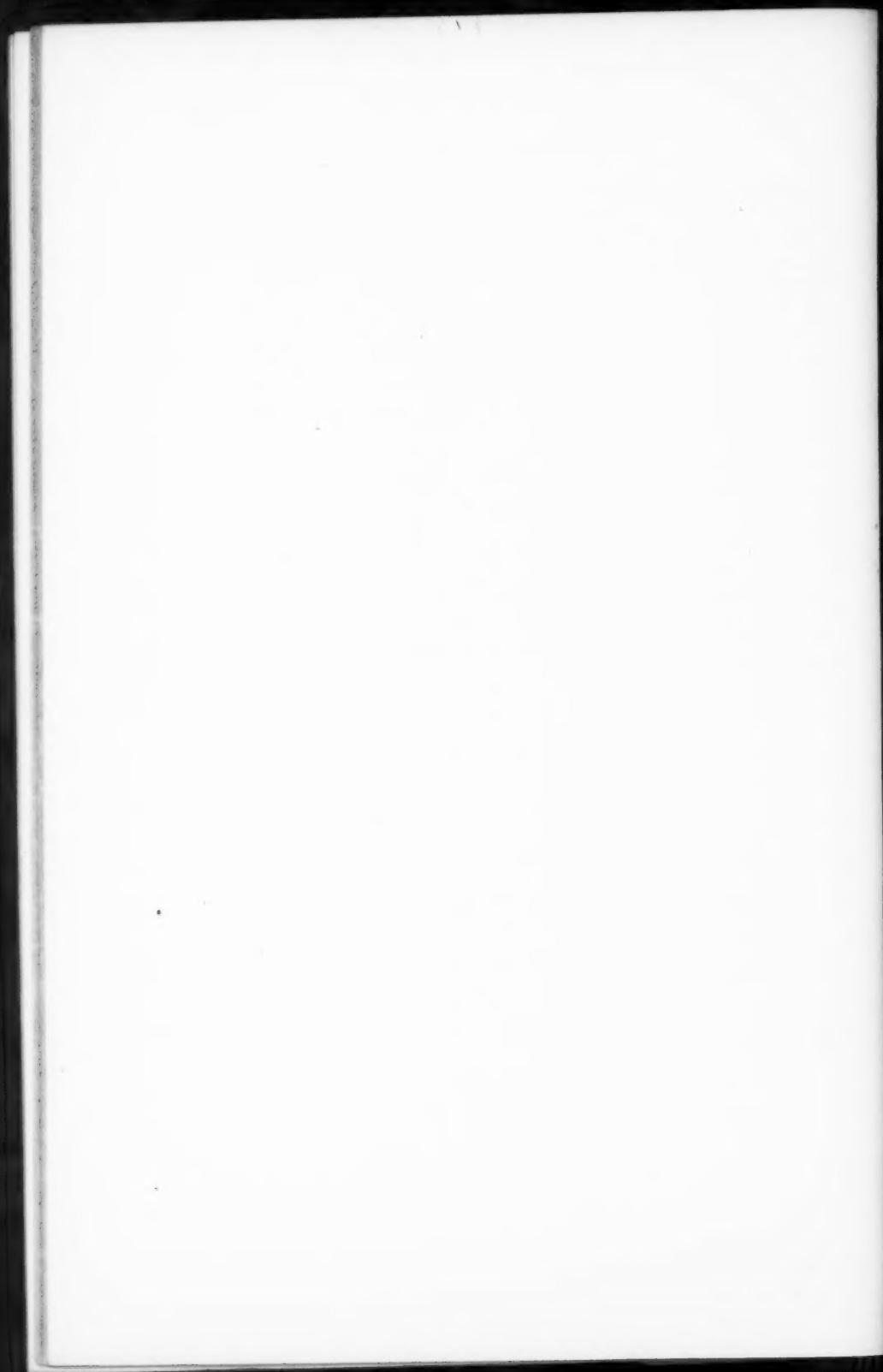
Caleys einz le Roy de Fraunce & la Roigne Dengleterre se remuerent deuers lez marches de Caleys Marsdy proschein apres saint Michel darrein mais homme ne sciet sil vendra a saint Omers ou noun Treshonuree & tresgracieuse dame & Miere aultre ne vous say a present escriuere mais qe luy trespassissant Roy du ciel vous ottroie bone vie & longe & vous encresce en honours al entier desir de *vostre coer* Escript a Caleys Mescerdry apres le feste du saint Michel
le vostre filtz D[eu]ler . . .

In those days of few letters and little news, one wonders what the two women thought of these two epistles, of which the second is so palpably a copy of the first. At all events, Lady Alice thought them worth preserving, perhaps for their report of a historic event in which she herself was interested. That she herself and her daughters were at court when the child-queen was welcomed to London is altogether probable; and that Geoffrey Chaucer, whose sister-in-law (as most scholars now believe), the newly made Duchess of Lancaster, had the little girl in her charge, was also in the throng can hardly be doubted. I have even ventured the guess (which I hope to publish soon with my arguments) that it was for this occasion that he may have written his "Rosemounde." However that may have been, Lady Alice de Bryene was certainly of that court circle in which he was a familiar figure.

In conclusion, it may be noted that in the Martin A. Ryerson collection of deeds and court rolls presented to the University of Chicago in 1924 there are documents that concern Lady Alice and her family, including a fine specimen of the Bryene heraldic seal.

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